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HISTORY

OF THE

11 NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS;

THEIR

ORIGIN,

WITH A

FAITHFUL DESCRIPTION OF THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,
BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY, THEIR RELIGIONS,
LANGUAGES, DRESS, AND ORNAMENTS;

INCLUDING

• VARIOUS SPECIMENS OF INDIAN ELOQUENCE, AS WELL AS HISTORICAL AND
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ALMOST ALL THE DISTINGUISHED NA-
TIONS, AND CELEBRATED WARRIORS, STATESMEN, AND ORATORS,

AMONG THE

INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY JOHN McINTOSH.

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P R E F A C E .

To trace the descent of nations and travel through the regions of antiquity, is universally admitted to be a difficult task, and consequently not unworthy the attention of the lovers of science. Our present subject, it is true, has frequently attracted the curiosity of the learned, both of the old and new world; and although their researches have been both plausible and ingenious, yet the result of their inquiries is evidently so adverse and inconsistent, that a wide field is still open to the antiquary and historian. Nay, the obscurity in which the origin of the Aborigines of America has, hitherto, been involved, demands and calls forth all the ingenuity which the most enlightened philosophy can bring to its aid, in order to satisfy the public mind on so intricate a subject.

In this arduous undertaking, therefore, it becomes us to solicit the indulgence of our readers, especially of those who may not, perhaps, feel disposed to reason on matters, which, as they might likely imagine, exceed so far the reach and testimony of authentic history, that the origin of the North American Indians must, as a matter of course, remain for

ever hidden from the curiosity of mankind. The Red Man, it is true, had not, when first visited by Europeans, any history of themselves, either *written*, or *traditional*, which could throw any light on their national affairs. With regard to oral tradition, which consists of recitals made by the first men to their children, of whatever happened worthy of notice during their lifetime, so that these recitals are multiplied in every generation, and transmitted down to posterity, without the assistance of writing, we must candidly acknowledge that the Indians were found to be miserably destitute, even of this errant vehicle of knowledge. Hence, amidst the clouds which envelop the history of this ill-fated race, we are furnished by themselves with nothing but uncertainty. We shall not then, venture to affirm, on their testimony, either what is true or what is false, or seek for certainty among such uncertain authorities. On the contrary, our witnesses are of the most unimpeachable character, while the testimony of travellers of undoubted veracity, and missionaries no less distinguished for their learning than religious zeal, who dwelt for many years in the north-eastern regions of Asia, and among the Indian tribes of North America, shall form our principal guides in this inquiry.

In the absence, therefore, of written or traditional history, however erroneous the latter may frequently prove, but neither of which the Indians possessed, it seems to us, that there cannot be a more rational way of arriving, with any degree of accuracy and certainty, at the original source, whence, in the remoteness of time, those numerous and powerful tribes first migrated to the Western Continent, than to offer a faithful comparison of the Indians with the Asiatics, in religion, language, manners, habits and customs.

On the authority of writers and travellers, ancient and modern, and of distinguished ability, whose observations, in Asia, and America, written at different periods, should merit the greatest confidence and attention from the scientific and the curious, we have ventured to prove beyond the possibility of doubt, that the North American Indians are of Asiatic origin.

As it is generally allowed that the uniformity or agreement of the manners and customs of two nations, is the most authentic monument of their original connection, we have offered an extensive catalogue of coincidences, so singular and indicative of the identity of people, that we will, at once, be induced to believe this theory to be the most rational of all the systems that have been formed on the subject. If we meet, therefore, with many customs, religious, military, and civil, practised only by some nations in Asia, and followed up by the earliest inhabitants of the Western Continent, we may fairly conclude that the Aborigines of this country must have derived their origin from those Asiatic tribes to whom they bear the greatest resemblance in language, religion, manners, habits and customs.



INTRODUCTION.

NATIONS, like mankind, advance insensibly from infancy to youth. The scenes of puerility are forgotten or neglected in the pride of riper years. Few, indeed, feel inclined to look back on antiquity. The regions which we behold are remote. Beyond a certain line every thing disappears in shades, and the distant land in which we travel, seems to be inhabited by phantoms and strange forms. An inquiry after the origin of nations is certainly an obscure, but yet an interesting labyrinth to perambulate. Weak and unphilosophic minds may, no doubt, deem this a barren subject, which their taste or curiosity leads them not to examine with that degree of interest which its importance evidently deserves. But nothing can prove more beneficial and amusing to the studious and inquisitive mind, than a proper knowledge of the various races of men, which constitute the great human family, for it is only in this way that a man can know himself.

When we take even a superficial view of the surface of the globe which we inhabit, we evidently perceive, that, at some unknown remote periods, various revolutions have happened, which not only affected materially the superficial structure of the earth, but the state and condition of its inhabitants.

Although we may fairly boast of the pre-eminence of the human species, over all other animals in arts of ingenious contrivance, and in mental capacities, which elevate our hopes beyond terrestrial enjoyments, yet we find the earth inhabited by different races of men, who do not only vary in complexion, manners and customs, but their rules of conduct, sentiments and opinions, are apparently so contrary and inconsistent, that the minds of the curious are at once struck with a degree of surprise, which naturally excites a desire of consulting those extensive sources of information, which have been laid open to the antiquary, by the travels and researches of modern travellers. The intellectual faculties of man, as well as his bodily frame and complexion, exhibit so various an aspect among different races of mankind, as would seem to authorise an arrangement of the human species into different classes, marked by a specific diversity of powers, both mental and corporeal.

The revival of critical learning, however, has induced the learned and the intelligent to examine with some interest, the early state of mankind, as well as the striking diversity in the human species throughout the regions of the earth. The whole human race, when compared with the present generation, were in a state of infancy, for many centuries after the deluge, as well as in the antediluvian world. To observe mankind leaving the first rude stages of society, and advancing gradually in the provinces of civilization and refinement, till they came to cultivate the arts and sciences, and to form wise regulations for the better government of communities, is a contemplation in which every man should indulge, in order to know what man really is, and what he has been. The wonderful revolutions which every age and every year have produced in the mental regions of man, go to prove that the human race have not yet attained their manhood.

But how much soever men may seem to be diversified by manners and customs, opinions and sentiments, shape and size of body, colour complexion, the organization of

the human frame, throughout the world, proves an uniformity of species, which makes it appear probable, that the whole human race have been descended from one original pair, as we are assured by sacred history.

On discovering, therefore, such a contrariety in the bodily frame and features of man, as well as in his mental capacities, we are led to attribute this diversity in the human species, to that general revolution which happened at the confusion of Babel. From Holy Writ we are assured that, for several centuries after the deluge, mankind continued together and composed only one nation, seated in that country which was watered by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, sometimes called in general Syria, but more particularly distinguished by the several names of Armenia, Assyria, and Chaldea. Being the children of one family, (of Noah and his sons) their language was the same, notwithstanding the early difference which appeared betwixt Ham and his two brothers; and doubtless their religion, customs and manners, could not be very different so long as they continued together.

During their abode in the plains of Shinar, the sons of Noah conceived the project of building "A City and a Tower," in order to make themselves "a name," or rather a sign lest they should "be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." This tower, says Moses, they impiously designed should *reach to heaven*; and various are the conjectures that have been made as to the motive that could have suggested so vain a thought. But whatever it might be, it was displeasing in the eyes of God, and he accordingly obliged them to abandon their enterprise by confounding their language, so that, unable to understand each other, they named the city *Babel*, which signifies *confusion*, and dispersed.

Some writers have imagined that the tower of Babel was undertaken out of fear of a second deluge, and therefore, the projectors resolved to raise a structure of sufficient height to fly to in case of danger; among them may be classed Josephus. Others, who, knowing beforehand they

should be dispersed through all the countries of the world they built this tower to defeat the design of the Almighty; because, having a tower of such vast height as they proposed, those who were at a distance, might easily find their way back again—so thinks Usher. But had either of these been their real design, they would rather have chosen some high mountain, such as Ararat, for their mark, than have built any tower whatever; for it can scarcely be supposed, that they were so foolish as to imagine they could really reach heaven with their structure; and though Moses so expresses himself, his words ought not to convey any other idea than to those of the same historian and his countrymen, which describe cities (Deut. i. 28. ix. 1.) as walled up to heaven, when they speak of very strong places.

A third class of writers suppose that the top of this tower was not designed to reach to heaven, but to be consecrated to the heavenly bodies; in other words, that on its top was to be raised a temple for the worship of the sun, moon, stars, fire, air, &c., and that, therefore, the true Deity interposed his presence to prevent a total and irreconcilable defection; such is the opinion of Tenison. But whatever might have been the scheme of these builders, it is sufficiently evident that the project was displeasing to the Almighty, who finally confounded their airy plans by miraculously introducing different languages, or at least different dialects of the former universal language.

By this confusion, those who spoke the same dialect consorted together, and separated themselves from the families or tribes whose language they no longer could understand. Thus was mankind reduced to the necessity of forming as many different parties as they had languages among them. As those different tribes dispersed themselves into many countries, and had no intercourse with each other, it was necessary that the essentials of their religion, manners and customs, should also undergo a change. This was actually the case, for mankind, immediately after the confusion of tongues, was split into many distinct nations,

speaking a variety of dialects, while they also adopted modes of living quite different from those which they practised on the plains of Shinar, where they lived together.

Thus, therefore, was the tower of Babel, memorable for the great event of the confusion of languages, consequent upon its projection, as well as by its being the original or the temple of Belus, deemed among the ancients as one of the seven wonders of the world. But, such is the transitory nature of all that pertains to man, that it is now a heap of ruins, and so utterly defaced, that the people of the country are not certain of its real site.

As mankind increased and multiplied in the different countries which they inhabited, several bodies were sent out to seek their fortune in strange lands. Finding that they were fine and delightful countries, which promised them great felicity, they were soon induced to separate and form new settlements. Others, by reason of civil and domestic quarrels, were driven abroad, and passed into distant regions far beyond the encroachment of an enemy.

Thus they spread themselves over almost the greater part of Asia; but their roving and wandering disposition was not yet satisfied, until, by continued migrations, they extended their discoveries throughout Africa, Europe, and finally America.

We shall now proceed to view, as briefly as possible, the Creation, the site of Paradise, the Antediluvians, the Deluge, and the foundation of Nations by the posterity of Noah, in order to descend gradually to the dispersion of mankind and the settlement of countries, so that we may thus discover which of the three sons of Noah, the American Indians should claim as the founder of their nation. Although this inquiry might, at first sight, appear somewhat foreign to the subject which we have undertaken to illustrate, namely the origin of the Indians, still a concise account of these great events in the history of man may not prove useless to many of our readers, who might not have, hitherto, paid any particular attention to these subjects. We hope, therefore, that the novelty of our plan,

while it tends, not only to trace the origin of the **RED MEN** of America, but that of almost all other nations likewise, will be equally gratifying to the scientific and the curious.

CREATION OF THE WORLD.

In order to arrive at the particular era, when the matter of this earth was called into existence, philosophers have amused themselves in various ways. The materials of which it was composed, and the means whereby they were disposed in the order in which we behold them, is a subject also, which, though far beyond the reach of human sagacity, has nevertheless originated theories and controversies almost without number, among the learned of all ages and countries. Many imagine that the world had no beginning, but existed from all eternity, while others are of opinion that it did exist at some particular time unknown to man and that it was destroyed at different times by some great revolution in nature.

With regard to the opinion, that the world existed from eternity, none of the ancient philosophers seem to have had the least idea of its being possible to produce something out of nothing, not even by the power of the Deity itself; hence must have arisen the erroneous opinion that the world had no beginning. Next to this system, came the doctrine, that, though the matter of the world be eternal, its form is mutable.

The learned have observed, calculated, and commemorated the appearances and revolutions of the heavenly bodies, to the system of which this orb belongs; they have penetrated into the bowels of the earth and the depths of the ocean, to trace the irregular dispositions of these strata, and the strange confusion in which their materials are often intermingled together; yet their researches have

ended only with suggestions, that these spheres have continued to roll through countless ages. While some have asserted, that the idea of creating a world out of *nothing*, is at once a contradiction to reason, which is sufficient to overthrow the doctrine of revelation, others have boldly stood forth and maintained, in support of the sacred writings, that the fact of creation out of nothing, by an *INFINITELY* powerful and wise self-existent God, so far from being repugnant to reason, to say nothing of revelation, is highly probable, and demonstrably certain.

If we refer to sacred writing for the ascertainment of truth or knowledge on this point, we only learn that the world had a beginning, without stating any particular period; for Moses, in alluding to the commencement of things, goes no farther than to say, that *in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth*. From this general language of the Divine lawgiver, we cannot evidently ascertain the particular period at which the world began to exist.

Indeed all the philosophical inquiries which have been made in all ages, concerning the beginning of the creation, have not as yet been able to enlarge the testimonies of sacred history, or refute its authority by showing any inconsistency or contradiction in its venerated narratives. With all the ingenuity, therefore, of the scientific, either ancient or modern, no evidence has been produced, by which we can reasonably doubt or improve the Mosaic account

SITUATION OF PARADISE.

We have thought proper to allude to this subject, in order to controvert the theory, that in America Adam and Eve first drew the breath of life; for few can be ignorant of the fact, that a treatise has been written, showing how the whole world is indebted to America for its inhabitants.

This, as well as every other subject of antiquity, has originated a variety of speculative opinions. Those who entertained the most extravagant notions concerning a local paradise, have placed it within the orb of the moon, in the moon itself, in the middle regions of the air, and in many other places which their fancy might point out. Such, however, have wandered without the province of reason and probability. Many have denied that there did exist such a place as the garden of Eden, interpreting that part of scripture which alludes to it, in an allegorical sense, and alleging that the ancients, and especially the Eastern nations, had a peculiar and a mysterious mode of delivering their divinity and philosophy, and that the latter is frequently adopted in scripture, in explaining natural things, sometimes to accommodate the capacities of the people, and at others, to describe the real, but more hidden truth. But though it is admitted, that some of the ancient philosophers affected such an allegorical way of writing, to conceal their notions from the vulgar; yet it is apparent, that Moses had no such design; and as he assumes to relate matters of fact, just as they occurred, without disguise or art, it cannot be supposed that the history of the fall is not to be taken in a literal sense, as well as the rest of his writings.

Some who conceded its reality, have rambled through countries unknown to man; while others discovered it under the north pole, and in that place which is now

occupied by the Caspian Sea. It has also been boldly and stubbornly maintained, that the site of paradise was to be discovered in America, that it was here that Adám and Eve first drew the breath of life; and that it is to America the whole world is indebted for its inhabitants.

The opinions, even of the more rational inquirers, are very strangely divided. Tartary, China, Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Ethiopia, and even Sweden, have been ransacked in search of this wonderful garden.

The opinion has likewise prevailed, that the whole earth was originally in a paradisaical state of beauty, although Moses, say they, has put a part for the whole, that man might better conceive the primitive appearance of the earth, which was afterwards destroyed by the violent concussions of nature, caused by the general deluge.

If we consider the general habit which prevailed in the early ages of allegorizing every obscure passage of scripture, we need not at all be surprised at the diversity of opinions. There is a certain portion of mankind, the Jews, who are more immediately connected with the history of Moses than any other people, and from them we would naturally expect to receive some information on the subject; yet they are so utterly ignorant of the geography of the sacred history, and of the situation of Paradise, that there is no wonder why this question should not be easily solved. Josephus, their historian, supposes that the Nile and the Ganges were two of its four rivers; and in this opinion he is supported by some of the Christian fathers.

Near Tripoli, there is a place called Eden; the river Tigris has an island of the name of Eden; and near Tarsus in Cilicia, there is a city still going under the name of Adena or Aden. In Syria, there is Eden; and in Chaldea, about Têlassar, there is another. These two are mentioned in the Mosaical account, the latter of which may, very probably, be the famous garden.

It may here be observed, that Eden or Aden signifies,

in the Hebrew, pleasure; and hence any delightful situation would sometimes receive this name.

But let us now attend, for a moment, to the description of Moses himself. "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and a river went out of Eden to water that garden; and from thence it was parted and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: That is it which compasses the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good; there is bdellium and the onyxstone. And the name of the second river is Gihon; the same is it which compasses the whole land of Ethiopia, or Cush. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel, that is it which goes toward the east of (or eastward to) Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates."

From this particular geographical description of Eden, it is not possible that Moses could be speaking in an allegorical language. If this be an imaginary paradise which he describes so minutely, it follows that his language was also figurative, when he tells that the ark rested on Mount Ararat, and that the sons of Noah removed to the Plains of Shinar: for the three scenes are described by the sacred historian, as immediately succeeding one another. Eden, then, according to Moses, was bounded by countries and rivers well known in his time, and some of them go to this very day, under the same names which he gives them. It must, evidently, therefore, have been his intention to point out to the post-diluvian world, where Eden and Paradise were situated in the former world. We also see, that he does not make use of antediluvian names in his description of this garden; but, as we have already said, of names of later date than the flood. The deluge, it is true, has greatly disfigured the face of the earth; but we are aware, at the same time, that the convulsion has been more fatal in some places than others; and if there had been no indication or marks of it remaining, Moses would not surely be so confident in describing its particular situation

Without examining here all the opinions which have been entertained on this subject we shall pass on to the more rational conjectures of various eminent men. They consist of three schemes; the first is espoused by the learned Heidegger, Le Clere, Pere Abraham, and Pere Hardouin, who place Paradise near Damascus, in Syria, about the springs of Jordan. Notwithstanding, however, the reputation of these men, this opinion appears to have no foundation. We must first discover those marks which are mentioned in the Mosaic description, before we can admit its probability.

Sanson, Reland, and Calmet, who were no less renowned for learning, come next with their opinions. According to them, Eden was situated in Armenia, between the sources of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Araxes, and the Phasis. Although the diligent and learned Strabo, and other ancient geographers, have informed us that the Phasis rises in the mountains of Armenia, near the springs of the Euphrates, the Araxes and the Tigris; yet from modern discoveries we are led to assign it a different source, by going to Mount Caucasus, where it takes its rise. Besides, the Phasis does not flow from south to north, but from north to south. According to this supposition, we want a whole river, which joins the Araxes before it falls into the Caspian Sea. This hypothesis, however, is supported by Mr. Tournefort, an authority, certainly worthy of some notice.

Huet, bishop of Soissons and Avranches, Stephanus Morinus, Bochart, and several others highly versed in the geography of that country, stand forth in defence of the third scheme, which certainly seems the least objectionable of the three. By them Eden is placed upon the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates, called by the Arabs, Shat-al-Arab, which signifies the river of the Arabs. It begins two days' journey above Bassora, and divides again into two channels about five leagues below. These channels empty themselves in the Persian Gulf. Thus, the Shat-al-Arab must, consequently, be the river going

out of Eden, which river, considered according to the disposition of its channel, and not according to the course of its stream, divides into four heads or different branches, which make the four rivers mentioned by Moses; two below, viz., the two branches of the Shat, which serve for the Pison and Gihon; and two above, viz., the Euphrates and Tigris; the latter whereof is called Dijlat by the Arabs, and is now allowed to be the Hiddekel of Moses. By this disposition, the western branch of the Shat will be the Pison, and the adjoining part of Arabia, bordering on the Persian Gulf, will be the Havilah; and the eastern branch will be the Gihon, encompassing the country of Cush or Chuzestan, as it is called by the Persians.

We see not, therefore, why this last opinion should not coincide with the account of Moses, who tells us, that a "river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads."—Moses cannot be misunderstood here, for he expressly says, that in Eden there was but one river, and that, having gone out, it was parted and became four streams or openings, two upwards and two downwards. If we suppose the Shat-al-Arab to be the common centre, by looking towards Babylon, we may see the Tigris and Euphrates coming into it, and by looking down towards the Persian Gulf, we may see the Pison and Gihon running out of it.

Whatever objection may be made against this hypothesis, none appears to be more consistent with the description of Moses. By this supposition, Eden is reasonably placed in the great channel formed by the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates; besides, the fertility of the neighboring country, Mesopotamia and Chaldea, should, in a great measure, tend to confirm this belief. We are assured by several modern travellers, that there is not a finer nor a richer country in all the dominions of the Grand Signior, than that which lies between Bagdad and Basora, being the very tract which, according to this scheme, was anciently called the *Land of Eden*.

THE ANTEDILUVIANS.

A single pair were the first progenitors of the whole human race, but their primitive innocence and felicity were quickly lost in misery and guilt; and the unfortunate circumstances which produced the fatal change in their own condition as well as in that of their posterity, are already too well known to receive the slightest comment from us. In the progress of their lives, however, their offspring became numerous. Dissension and mutual hatred increased as they multiplied in numbers. Crimes and vices were introduced among men from the very moment that Cain imbued his hands in the blood of his brother Abel.

In the mean time the posterity of Cain improved the arts taught them by Jabal and his brothers. They built cities—their various degrees of strength or of industry had produced inequality of condition; opulence had substituted artificial and extravagant luxuries for the simple and pure pleasures of nature; and, notwithstanding the interruption of peace, which was caused by the growing depravity of the age, they still pursued a connubial union, which so rapidly multiplied their numbers, that many different generations were contemporary upon the earth.

Josephus relates, that the children of Seth, by the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, laid the foundation of the science of astronomy; and, understanding from a prediction of Adam, that the earth was to be destroyed, once by water, and once by fire, they engraved their observations on two pillars, *called the pillars of Seth*—the one of stone to preserve them from the effects of the flood; the other of brick, to resist the violence of fire. There is every reason, however, to believe that the beginning of the general corruption arose from the unhappy marriages of the sons of Seth with the daughters of Cain, so that

their manners were soon depraved, and at length they had degenerated so far, that "the wickedness of man was very great on the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually"

The wickedness of the antediluvian world may be accounted for in various ways. They had a hereditary propensity to evil, derived from Adam, their common apostate father; and this degeneracy was soon discovered in the murder of Abel. Vice, like contagion, spread, and so quickly did it contaminate the whole family of mankind, that "it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth." The longevity which the inhabitants of the world attained; contributed, in a great measure, to introduce those vicious practices which the present short duration of human life can seldom imbibe. In the course of eight or nine hundred years, the usual age of antediluvians, the same person could obtain immense wealth, which should naturally tend to the enjoyment of splendour, elegance and luxury, so that a lust after sensual pleasures would wholly occupy the hearts of those uncultivated people. Living together, as they did in the early ages of the world, and speaking the same languages, we may naturally suppose that the vice of the one would be readily imparted to the other, until the whole community was tainted with the common malady.

THE DELUGE.

Amid this general perversion of the human heart, when mankind were running headlong into all manner of vice, Noah, the son of Lamech, was born. Of all the numerous population, by which the earth was inhabited at this time, Noah alone was found perfect in the sight of God; he, therefore, found grace before the Almighty, who declared to him his determination of bringing a deluge of water upon the earth, to destroy all who dwelt thereon. Lamenting this sad state of society, and knowing the impending judgment with which God had threatened to visit a sinful world, Noah stood forth, without fear or dismay, as "a preacher of righteousness," to bring his fellow-men to a recollection of their impiety, and a just sense of their danger; yet his Divine admonitions were of no avail. The haughtiness, the incorrigible obstinacy, and the universal depravity which pervaded all ranks and sexes were not to be easily affected by the preaching, counsel, and authority of this one righteous man.

During all that period which expired in the building of the ark, Noah never ceased to warn and remind a guilty people of the approaching desolation. Carelessly and independently they proceeded in the commission of sin, and often amused themselves with Noah's folly in his vain attempt to construct the means of preserving the human race from general ruin. Although God had allotted 120 years for men to repent and escape, yet all was in vain! The heart of man, depraved and ruined by the fall was deaf to the awful warning, and the whole was treated with derision. The vengeance of Heaven was not, however, to be much longer restrained. The great fabric of salvation was at last finished. The awful period was at hand; yet Noah and his family were alone to be saved

The other particulars appertaining to this catastrophe are already too well known to require any notice here.

In departing from the antediluvian world, it might be inquired, how it came to pass, that, in those days, people attained to so extraordinary a longevity. In order to reply to this question of curiosity, we must form various conjectures. Some writers, to reconcile the matter with probability, have asserted that the antediluvians computed their ages by lunar months, and not by solar years: but this expedient would reduce the length of their lives to a shorter period than our own. If this hypothesis be admitted as probable, it must necessarily follow, that some of them were fathers at the absurd age of six or seven years. Besides, the whole interval between the Creation and the Deluge would then be contracted to less than two hundred years. This supposition, therefore, we shall, at once, reject as incredible.

For this longevity there are, however, reasons sufficiently obvious. In the first place, we must suppose, that, while the earth was inhabited by a scanty population, commencing with a single pair, it would be necessary to endow men with a stronger frame, and to allow them a longer continuance on earth, for peopling it with inhabitants. Philosophers, likewise, contend, and in our opinion, on very reasonable grounds, that the qualities, of the air, and consequently the stamina of the human constitution, were greatly altered for the worse by the several changes which the world must have undergone at the flood. We are, indeed, convinced, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the Deluge affected, most materially, the whole body of nature; but, whether that alteration has tended to contract the duration of human life, we cannot possibly ascertain. We are, likewise aware, from daily experience, that climate, food, and mode of living, have a tendency to lengthen or shorten the days of man.

THE FOUNDATION OF NATIONS

BY THE POSTERITY OF JAPHET.

By the sacred historian we are informed, that Noah, soon after landing from the ark, betook himself to husbandry, and planted a vineyard. Of the juice of the grape he drank so freely, it seems, that he lay in a state of inebriety, carelessly uncovered in his tent. In this condition he was discovered by his youngest son Ham, who, on seeing him, called to his brethren Japhet and Shem, that they might witness his unbecoming situation. But they, mindful of their filial duty, and the respect due to their parent, in place of exposing and ridiculing their father's nakedness, as Ham did, took a garment between them, and, walking in backward, covered Noah and retired. Having awoke from his sleep and wine, and become acquainted with what had happened, he pronounced a prophetic epitome of the history of his posterity. "Cursed be Canaan," said he, "a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant."

The extirpation of the Canaanites, the subjugation of the Phœnicians and Carthagenians, the slavery of the African negroes would seem to be fulfilments of the curse pronounced on Canaan, the son of Ham, as these people were evidently his descendants.

Japhet was the common progenitor of almost the one half of the human race, through his son Gomer. All European nations were descended from the Gomerians, or Gomerites. The Lesser Asia, or Asia Minor, with the "isles of the Gentiles," and some of the vast regions anciently inhabited by the Scythians were peopled by the descendants of Japhet.

At a very early period, numerous migrations from Greece poured into the western parts of Asia Minor, on the coasts of which many powerful kingdoms or commonwealths were established, under the names of *Æolia* and *Ionian*. In the north-west part of this peninsula was also the famous kingdom of *Troy*; but the whole now forms part of *Turkey* in *Asia*.

The writers of ancient history generally agree, that the descendants of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, settled in the northern parts of *Europe*, whence they spread themselves to the adjacent regions, and the *isles of the Gentiles*, by which expression *Europe* is generally understood, as it contained those countries to which the *Hebrews* were obliged to go to by sea, such as the lesser *Asia*, *Greece*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and the islands in the *Ægean* and *Mediterranean* seas.

In the process of time, the descendants of *Gomer* assumed different national appellations. They were first known to the *Greeks* under the name of *Cimmerii*, or *Cimbri*, which is still preserved by the inhabitants of *Wales*, in the words *Cimbrian* or *Cambrian*. But the *Cimbri* of the ancients, or rather *Cimmerii*, was evidently a modification of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, from the more original term *Cymro* and *Cumeri*, representing the still more original appellation *Comer*. In their various migrations and subsequent settlements in different countries, they were called *Sacæ*, *Titani*, *Celto-Scythæ*, *Celt-Iberi*, *Galatai*, *Galli*, and *Celtæ*; that is the people of *Sacastena*, *Titans*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Celt-Iberians*, *Galatians*, *Gauls*, and *Celts*. To *Gomer*, therefore, we may attribute the origin of all the primitive inhabitants of *Europe* and a great part of *Asia*, including the *Ancient Briton*; and *Irish*.

The *Irish* and *Scots* of the present day, who speak the *Celtic* language, once so universal over *Europe*, are beyond any possibility of doubt, the only pure remnants of *Gomer*. With regard to the assertion of one of the most elevated and influential *English* peers, "that the *Irish* were aliens in language, nation, &c.," we have only to say, that, if the

present race of Celtic Irish are the descendants of the aborigines of Britain and Ireland, as undoubtedly they are, it must sound strange in their ears, to hear themselves called *strangers* in the land which they have inherited and inhabited from time immemorial

MAGOG, THE PROGENITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

Magog, the second son of Japhet, founded those who were, after him, called the Magogites, but whom the Greeks named Scythians. According to Josephus, St. Jeronymus, the majority of the Christian fathers, and some of the most eminent historians and geographers, ancient and modern, Magog was the founder and father of the Scythians, Tartars, and Moguls, and consequently of the Siberians, and all these north-eastern tribes. The Arabs place Magog, whom they call Majuj, to the farther end of Tartary, towards the north and north-east. There is not the least doubt, therefore, but the posterity of Magog were those who wandered north and north-eastward, after the dispersion of the children of Noah from their primeval seats; and the Scythians were, perhaps, the first and the most numerous.

At this early state of society, when mankind were but loosely combined together in social union, every quarrel, every crime, every fond fancy or moody disgust, continually prompted emigration; and even the most remote and inhospitable parts of the earth were beginning to receive human inhabitants. For nearly thirty years, after having harassed and broken the monarchies of the south, the Scythians were the lords also of western Asia. At the time when the Assyrian empire was at its highest pitch

of greatness they advanced with a destructive career, through the kingdoms of the south.

As last, luxury, disunion, and the effects of a climate and habits of life to which they were unaccustomed, wasted the Scythian forces, until at last the reins of the empire of Asia dropped from their enfeebled hands and they retired with diminished numbers, to the desolate plains of the north and north-east.

With regard, more particularly to our subject, we must admit that almost all the northern countries of Asia were colonized by Scythians, the descendants of Magog. We are also to look upon these bleak regions of the north as the quarter from whence America must have received, at a very early period, a great portion of its aboriginal inhabitants. But, whether the South American Indians, and other tribes who must have had possession of North America, prior to the arrival of the present race, inasmuch as they were certainly more civilized, came from Tartary, and Siberia, in the north, is a question which we may, hereafter, have occasion to examine. Now as to the opinion, that Siberia, Calmuck Tartary, and the peninsula of Kamschatska, owe their inhabitants to the ancient Scythians, we believe it to be beyond a mere conjecture. In confirmation of this, we may here refer to the testimony of Eugenius Cabolski, and Monsieur Piston. The former was a missionary in Siberia for seven years, and wrote a treatise in the Latin tongue, on the origin of the Tartars and other northern tribes; the latter was a French traveller under the patronage of the Russian government.

"All those," says Cabolski, "who are acquainted with ancient history, may know, that the Scythians, both within and without the mountains of Imaus, inhabited those countries which are now called North Siberia and Kamschatska; for we may understand so, because the name Magog is still preserved in many families, towns, and fortifications."*

* Lib. ii. cap. 10. Omnes qui historię antiquę sunt periti, Scythas intra Imaum, nec non extra Imaum, has regiones quę nunc Siberia et

Monsieur Piston is still more clear on this point; but, as we shall refer to him again, these brief observations may suffice at present.

"As I have already endeavoured," he says, "to point out the different modes in which these nations of the North resemble each other, every one can make his own conclusions."

"If a person," he adds in another place, "pays attention to the striking circumstance, that names of mountains, towns, and rivers, can be discovered in Tartary, and in Siberia, which indicate their antiquity and their origin from those whom the Greeks called Scythians, it appears to me just, that no one should, any longer, doubt the genealogy of this people."*

From these authorities, as well as many others, it would appear, that Tartary and Siberia were originally colonized or peopled by the Scythians, the posterity of Magog; and that Kamschatska and the north of Siberia being the nearest point of Asia to America, whence migrations could easily take place. The Indians of North America should also claim the Scythians as their progenitors, and, consequently, Magog as the founder of their nation.

Kamschatska appellatur, vetustissimis temporibus Scythas incoluisse cognoscant. Sic enim intelligere Possimus, quod nomen Magog in multis, civitatibus et Castellis adhuc servatur.

* Liv. v. Comme j'ai eu déjà soin de marquer les modes différentes, dans lesquelles ces nations du Nord se ressemblent, chacun pourra tirer ses conclusions en conséquence.

Si l'on fait attention à la fameuse circonstance, qu'on trouvera dans la Tartarie, et dans la Sibirie, des noms de montagnes, de villes, et de rivières qui indiquent leur antiquité, et leur origine des Scythes, il me semble qu'il soit juste de ne plus douter la genealogie de ce peuple.

THE POSTERITY OF SHEM,

SUPPOSED TO BE THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF AMERICA.

✓ Shem, the second son of Noah, had five sons who inhabited the land that began at the Euphrates and reached to the Indian Ocean; and their names were Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud and Aram.

✓ Salah, the son of Arphaxad, was the father of Eber, whose elder son was called Joktan. This Joktan was the father of thirteen sons, who were heads of as many nations. With regard to the countries which they possessed, very little can be said with any certainty; but most of the ancients were of opinion, that the East Indies, China, and Japan, must have been peopled by the descendants of Shem, through Joktan, his great great grandson.

As the North and South American Indians are reasonably believed to be of different origin, inasmuch as the natives of the South were found to be not only more civilized than the rude tribes of the North, when first discovered by Europeans, but their personal appearance, religion and language, exhibited so striking a diversity, which should at once, authorise this belief, many have supposed that Jucatan, or Yucatan, a province of Mexico, derives its name from Joktan. Among these Arius Montanus is the foremost, and he thinks that Joktan himself either passed into America, or that this continent was peopled by his posterity.

As far as the origin and identity of nations can be traced by a similarity of names, Arius Montanus and his followers seem to offer a plausible conjecture, as Yucatan, Juckatan, or Juck'an, in its contracted state, bears a very great resemblance to Joktan. We leave, however, this opinion as we found it, a mere conjecture; still, while we are under the necessity of giving to the Mexican, and the

inhabitants of the other southern regions, a different origin from that of the present RED MEN of the North, it is quite reasonable to suppose, that the earliest colonies that settled in America were of the line of Shem, and came, no doubt, from the eastern or north-eastern parts of Asia, such as China or Corea; and from the latter the journey could easily be performed, as we shall afterwards see. The descendants of Shem were certainly the first of the posterity of Noah that arrived at a state of civilization, and consequently might be looked upon as the authors of the innumerable monuments of antiquity which are scattered over the vast continent; for the present Indians of North America were utterly unacquainted with the art of constructing them, as well as with their history, even by tradition.

Of Ham, the third son of Noah, we have nothing to say as his posterity are not considered to have anything to do with the early peopling of America, except inasmuch as refers to the claims of the Carthagenians, by passing through the straits of Gibraltar, at a very remote period, when, according to some historians, they discovered this continent; but this we shall examine in its proper place; suffice it to say now, that Ham was the founder of almost all African nations, and of the Philistines and Canaanites in Asia.



DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

THAT the ancients had an imperfect notion of this quarter of the globe, should not, perhaps, be reasonably doubted, when we consider the very early period at which the sciences of geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and drawing, were studied in the schools of Greece and Rome, as well as in Egypt, Carthage, and Babylon. It is, however, generally agreed, that the Greeks, who first among the Europeans cultivated the science of geography, derived their knowledge of it from the Egyptians or Babylonians. But which of those two nations had the honour of the invention, it is impossible to determine.

In those days, the spherical figure of the earth might be known, and its magnitude also ascertained with some accuracy. With this knowledge, geographers would, no doubt, naturally suppose, that Europe, Asia, and Africa, as far as they were then known, could form but a small portion of the terraqueous globe. It was also suitable to the ideas of man, concerning the wisdom and beneficence of the author of nature, to believe that the vast space still unexplored was not covered entirely by an unprofitable ocean, but occupied by countries fit for the habitation of man. It might appear to them, likewise, equally probable, that the continents on one side of the globe were balanced by a proportional quantity of land in the other hemisphere. From these conclusions, arising solely from theoretical principles, the existence of the Western Continent might

have been conceived by the ancients. But whether they had the sagacity to form such conjectures, we are not authorized to say.

Of the two hemispheres, which comprise the whole terraqueous globe, the ancients had certainly no practical knowledge of more than what we now denominate *the Eastern*, containing the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. They supposed the pillars of Hercules, consisting of the Rock of Gibraltar on one side, and Mount Calpe on the other, to be the western boundaries of the earth; and on the east they carried their ideas no farther than the Ganges. In the south, they had some confused notions of Africa, extending into the torrid zone; but they scarcely believed it possible that men could exist in those sultry climes. With regard to the north, their notions were sometimes ridiculously strange concerning the inhabitants of the *terra incognita*, (the unknown country) of Europe and Asia.

Although we have no reason to believe that the ancients ever ventured to explore the continent of America by practical observation, whatever might have been their ideas respecting the existence of such a country; yet, there are some historians who would seem to favour the opinion, that the Carthagenians, the Welsh, and the Norwegians discovered this country at a very early period, and prior, of course, to the famous voyage of Columbus.

Those who contend for the Carthagenians have no other support than a few obscure passages from the ancients, who would really seem to be but little acquainted, with this island, which they describe and place at a short distance beyond the pillars of Hercules, or the straits of Gibraltar. We shall first notice Diodorus Siculus, a Sicilian historian and a Stoic philosopher, in the time of Julius Cæsar.

“Phœnices vetustissimis temporibus extra columnas Herculis navigantes ingentibus ventorum procellis ad longinquos Oceani tractus fuisse abreptos, ac multis diebus vi tempestatis jactatos, tandem ad ingentem insulam in

Oceano Atlantico, complurium dierum navigatione a Lybia in occasum remotam venisse; cuius solum fructiferum, amnes navigabiles, sumptuosa aedificia fuerint. Inde Carthaginienses et Tyrrhenos harum terrarum notitiam accepisse. Postea Carthaginienses, cum saepe a Tyrīs et Mauritanis bello premerentur, Gadibus praeter navigatis, et Atlantico provectos oceano, tandem ad novas has regiones appulisse, et coloniam duxisse; eamque rem diu tacitum servasse, ut si rursum sedibus ejicerentur, haberent locum in quem se cum suis reciperent. Repertam a Carthaginiensibus fortuito insulam; et in eam injussu Magistratus commigrasse plurimos: quod disfluente paulatim populo coeperit postea Capitale esse."

Here we are told by Diodorus, that the Phœnicians were, at a very early period, driven by the violence of the winds far beyond the pillars of Hercules or the straits of Gibraltar, into the ocean: that they discovered to the west of Lybia or Africa, at the distance of a few days' sailing from that continent, a large and fertile island and finely watered with navigable rivers; that this discovery was soon made known to the Carthagenians, a Phœnician colony in Africa, and to the Tyrrhennians or Tuscans in Italy: that the Carthagenians sometime after undertook, on account of hostile invasions made by the Moors and Tyrians, a voyage in which they passed the straits of Gibraltar and advanced beyond Cadiz without the pillars of Hercules, till they arrived in those new regions, where they made a settlement; but the policy of Carthage dislodged the colony, and laid a strict prohibition on all the subjects of the State not to attempt any future establishment.

It is truly suprising that historians of considerable renown should have mistaken the American continent for the fertile and beautiful island which is mentioned in this passage from Diodorus. This geographical sketch of the new country which the Phœnicians discovered, and the Carthagenians afterwards colonized, corresponds in every respect with the situation and fertility of Ireland, being

distant only a few days' sailing from the straits of Gibraltar, while few countries can surpass it in beauty. Ireland is also supplied with navigable rivers. In the researches of eminent antiquarians, we are taught to believe beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the Phœnicians were about the first of the human race that visited Ireland, where they established a colony. The chronicles of Ireland bear testimony to this fact; and when we collate the Irish language with the Punic or Phœnician, we find so striking an affinity, that the Irish or Celtic language may be said to have been, in a great degree, the language of Hannibal, Hamilcar, and Asdrubal. This opinion will at once be confirmed by having recourse to Plautus, where we see a Carthaginian speaking the Punic, which is no other than almost the pure Celtic or Irish language. In a forthcoming work, however, to be entitled "The Origin of the Primitive Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland," we shall prove this point so clearly, that to doubt it would be denying the most glaring truth.

"The Phœnicians," says Diodorus, in the first part of the passage which we have transcribed, "after a few days' sailing beyond the pillars of Hercules, discovered a large and fertile island in the ocean; and its beauty induced the discoverers to settle there." It is certain that the invention of the mariner's compass cannot be dated from a much earlier period than the beginning of the fourteenth century; and that towards the close of the same century, the navigation of Europe was not extended beyond the limits of the Mediterranean. It is not reasonable, therefore, to think that the Carthaginians should venture from the sight of land and stretch out into unfrequented and unknown seas, without the help of this sure guide, however prompted they might have been by the most ardent spirit of discovery, and encouraged by the patronage of princes. Such a bold enterprise is not at all congenial to the cautious and timorous minds of the ancient navigators. We see also in the same passage, that they performed their voyage in a few days, so that the land which they dis-

covered could not have been America, seeing that Columbus, the most skilful navigator of the age in which he lived, consumed seventy-one days in accomplishing his noble undertaking. The second part is no less inconsistent, when we learn that the policy of Carthage dislodged, the colony, and laid a strict prohibition on all the subjects of the State not to attempt any future establishment. This is certainly a line of policy, which could not have been pursued by any ambitious state, that wished to extend its power and enlarge its territories, by the discovery of so valuable an island as is described in Diodorus, and at so short a distance from the pillars of Hercules. It has never been satisfactorily proved, that there exists in America any tribe, whose language, manners, and customs, bears any resemblance to those of the Carthagenians. Were we even to grant, that the Carthagenians visited America prior to the discovery of Columbus, it would certainly appear very extraordinary, that the existence of this portion of the globe, should not have been revealed by the Carthagenians to some of their neighbouring nations, especially to the Spaniards; for in Spain the Carthagenians founded several cities. It is no less surprising that the Carthagenians themselves had never attempted, at a future period, to make a second settlement in America. The opinion, therefore, that the western continent was discovered by the Carthagenians, seems to have no other support, except the passage which we have quoted from Diodorus and a few others.

Next comes Plato, who, according to Mr. Chamber's abridged account of this island, from Plato's *Timæus*, gives us the following description: "The Atalantis was a large island, in the Western ocean, opposite to the west of Cadiz. Out of this island there was an easy passage into some others, which lay near a continent, exceeding in extent all Europe. Neptune settled in this island, from whose son, Atlas, its name was derived, and he divided it among his ten sons. To the youngest fell the extremity of the island, called Gadir, which, in the language of the

country, signifies *fertile*, or abundant in sheep. The descendants of Neptune reigned here from father to son, for a great number of generations, in the order of primogeniture, during the space of *nine thousand years*. They also possessed several other islands; and passing into Europe and Africa, subdued all Lybia as far as Egypt, and all Europe to Asia Minor. At length the island sunk under water, and for a long time afterwards, the sea thereabouts was full of rocks and shelves."

This description of Plato, that of Diodorus, and a passage in Seneca's *Medæa*, with some others, scarcely worthy of notice, have given rise to many arguments among modern writers. Some have maintained that this continent, mentioned above as lying behind the island Atalantis, must have been another island extending from the Azores to the Canaries; but that, being swallowed up by an earthquake, as Plato asserts, those small islands are the remains of it. From supposition only, it has been asserted that America was known to the ancients, that is, to the Phœnicians and Carthagenians, who, after the extermination of their power and the destruction of all their records, lost all recollection of it. Be this, however, as it may, this account of Plato appears to us as somewhat fabulous, without believing, for a moment, that America was the continent lying behind that island.

Fables of much the same complexion also possessed the minds of the ancients, as to the inhabitants of the north of Europe and Asia, and many incredible tales were current among them relative to the Scythians; and Strabo, though in most respects a good geographer, blamed Pythias Massiliensis, who had surveyed the utmost parts of Europe, for endeavouring to turn the popular opinion; yet subsequent experience has shown, that, for the most part, Pythias was right.

The Phœnicians, and after them the Carthagenians, traded to Britain for tin; and we have also, as already observed, every reason to believe that Ireland was likewise known to them. After the destruction, however, of the Cartha

genians, the knowledge of Britain was lost among the ancients, till Julius Cæsar saw it from the coasts of Gaul, and added it to the conquests of Rome. It appears, therefore, that scarcely one-half of the world was known to the ancients, and even of that, with the exception of Egypt, the north coast of Africa, Greece, and Italy, and the countries immediately connected with them, they had a very imperfect idea.

To confirm us in our opinion, we shall here attend to Vesputius, a learned Latin author, who made able researches, *de origine gentium*. His manuscripts, which have not as yet been published, are still preserved in the Vatican library at Rome.

“Extra columnas Herculis quam vastissimus est oceanus, in quo sitæ sunt insulæ duæ quæ Albion, et Ierna apellantur. Ex Gallia sæpenumero colonos acceperunt, quomobrem lingua Gallica aut Celtic incolæ loqui dicuntur. Illuc neque dubitari potest, quin Cathaginienses coloniam olim miserint, lingua enim Punica quam simillima est eorum sermoni.” This learned antiquary contends that *Albion* and *Erin*, which are situated according to him, in a vast ocean, without the pillars of Hercules, received colonies not only from Gaul, as their inhabitants speak the language of the Gauls, but that the Phœnicians also contributed at some remote period to the colonization of these two islands, on account of the affinity between the Celtic and the Phœnician languages.

Vesputius is supported by Monsieur Boulet, a French etymologist, in his *Mem. sur la Langue Celtique*:—“La langue Celtique étant de la plus haute antiquité (says Boulet) n’étant même, ainsi qu’on la prouve, qu’un dialecte de la primitive, elle a dû être la mère de celles qui se sont formées par la succession des temps dans les pays qu’ont occupés les Celtes, ou Celto-Scythes. Le Latin, le Gothique, l’Anglo-Saxon, le Theuton, l’Irlandois, le Pruniqué, le Suedois, le Danois, l’Allemand, l’Anglois, l’Italien, l’Espagnol, le François, ayant été formés immédiatement, ou immédiatement, en tout, ou en partie, du Celtique, on

doit regarder cet ouvrage comme un dictionnaire etimologique de ces langues dans lequel on trouvera l'origine des termes qui les composent. Il-y-a encore tant de similitude entre la langue Carthaginoise, qu'on doit regarder les Irlandois et les Carthaginois comme deux nations de la meme origine."

The learned Boulet says, that the Celtic language is so ancient, that it is, as has been often proved, no less than a dialect of that language which was first spoken in paradise; and that it must be the mother of all those languages which had been formed in those countries which were formerly occupied by the Celts or Celto-Scythians. Therefore, he concludes, that the Latin, the Gothic, the Anglo-Saxon, the Teutonic, the Icelandic, the Prunic, the Swedish, the Danish, the German, the English, the Italian, the Spanish, and French languages must have been derived, directly or indirectly, from the Celtic, which is no other than an etymological dictionary of the terms of which those several languages are composed. There is also, he continues, such a similarity between the Celtic and the Carthaginian language, that the Irish and Carthaginians are to be considered as two nations of the same origin. We could offer the testimony of several other learned men who are not only convinced that the Carthaginians visited and colonized Ireland prior to the arrival of any other colony, but are also of opinion that Diodorus Siculus alludes to Ireland, while he describes that fertile island which the Carthaginians discovered beyond the pillars of Hercules. As we do not, however, intend, on the present occasion, to trace the origin of the Irish nation, but merely to shew from the national connexion, which evidently exists between the Irish and Carthaginians, that Ireland must, and undoubtedly, be that country which the Carthaginians, according to Diodorus, discovered in the Atlantic Ocean. The most reasonable mode, therefore, of accounting for this ancient consanguinity, is to conclude that, at some remote period, the Carthaginians, after a few days' sailing from Cadiz, a town which was built by the Phœnicians in Andalusia a

province in the south of Spain, arrived fortuitously in Ireland, where they made settlements.

The Welsh also fondly imagine, that their country contributed, in 1170, to people the new world, by the adventures of Madoc, son of Owen Guyneyd, who they say, on the death of his father, sailed there, and colonized a part of the country. All that is advanced in proof of this discovery, is a quotation from one of the British poets, who proves no more, than that he had distinguished himself both by sea and land. This compliment was immediately perverted by the Welsh bards. They pretend that he made two voyages; that sailing west, he left Ireland so far to the north, that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things; that on returning home, and making report of the fruitfulness of the newly discovered country, he prevailed on numbers of the Welsh of each sex to accompany him on a second voyage, from which he never returned. Without commenting on these assertions, for they do not wear the visage of truth, we need only enquire who the Welsh bards were. It is clearly stated by Strabo and Ammian what they were, anciently, in their day; but Lucan has more briefly, and distinctly enough for the present purpose, informed us in the following verses:

*"Nos quosque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
Laudibus in longum vates demittis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistus carmii bardi."*

*"The brave who fell in war, ye poets, praise,
In strains that shall descend to distant times,
And spread their fame, ye bards, in many songs."*

The bards, therefore, were retained by the chiefs of ancient families as minstrels, who, by their songs, perpetuated to posterity the memory of their patrons. Next come the senachies, another description of minstrels, who recited, from memory, the genealogies of their chiefs and other men of property. But these, too, were generally destitute of learning, and, besides, no reliance could be placed on men whose expectations and subsistence depend-

ed on adulation. If to this be added, as it often must, that national partiality which usually perverted their judgment, who would venture to affirm upon their testimony either what is true or what is false, or seek for certainty among such uncertain authorities, The Welsh, then, have no other testimony except the fabulous relations of bards and senachies; and as such were ever liable to delusion and error, their claim must ever be pronounced as entirely destitute of support. Besides the Welsh were never known as a people who were skilful in naval affairs, and even the age in which Madoc lived was particularly ignorant in navigation, so that the most which they attempted, could not have been more than a mere coasting voyage.

The Norwegians claim their share of the glory, on grounds rather better than the Welsh. By their settlements in Iceland and Greenland, they had arrived within so small a distance of the new world, that there is at least a possibility of its having been touched at by a people so versed in maritime affairs, and so adventurous as the ancient Normans were. The proofs are much more numerous than those produced by British historians, for the discovery is mentioned in several Icelandic manuscripts.

The period was about the year 1002, when, according to their own records, it was visited by one Biron; and the discovery pursued to greater effect by Leif, the son of Eric, the discoverer of Greenland. It does not appear that they reached farther than Labrador; on which coast they met with the *Esquimaux*, on whom they bestowed the name of *Scrælings*, or dwarfish people, from their small stature. They were armed with bows and arrows, and had leathern canoes, such as they have at present. All this is probable, although the following tale of the German, called Tyrker, one of the crew, does not tend to prove the discovery. He was one day missing; but soon returned, leaping and singing with all the extravagant marks of joy a *bon vivant* could shew, on discovering the inebriating fruit of his own country, the grape; Torfæus even says, that he returned in a state of intoxication. To convince

his commander, he brought several bunches of grapes, who from that circumstance named that country *Vinland*. It is not to be denied, that North America produces the true vine; but it is found in far lower latitudes than our adventurers could reach in the time employed in their voyages, which was comprehended in a very small space. However, be this as it may, there appears no reason to doubt the discovery; but as the land was never colonized, nor any advantages made of it by the Norwegians, it may fairly be conjectured, that they reached no farther than the coast of *Labrador*. In short, it is from a much later period that we must date the real discovery of America.

The mariners of the seventeenth century acquired great applause by sailing along the coast of Africa and discovering some of the neighbouring islands; and although the Portuguese were decidedly the most skilful navigators of the age, still, with all their industry and perseverance, they advanced southward no farther than the equator.

The rich commodities of the East had for several ages been brought into Europe by the way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; and it had now become the object of the Portuguese to find a passage to India by sailing round the southern extremity of Africa, and then taking an eastern course. This great object engaged the general attention of mankind, and drew into the Portuguese service adventurers from every maritime nation in Europe. Every year added to their experience in navigation and seemed to promise a reward to their industry. The prospect, however, of arriving at the Indies was extremely distant. Fifty years' perseverance in the same track had brought them only to the equator; and it was probable that as many more would elapse before they could accomplish their purpose, had not *Columbus*, by an uncommon exertion of genius, formed a design no less astonishing to the age in which he lived, than beneficial to posterity.

Among the foreigners whom the fame of the discoveries made by the Portuguese had allured into their service was

Christopher Columbus or Colon, a subject of the republic of Genoa.

It has been generally asserted by those who have given us a biographical sketch of Columbus, that the place of his birth is not known with certainty; but Father Lerafini, a learned Italian historian, speaks as follows of the famous navigator.

"Christoforo Colombo era nato nella città di Genoa, l'anno millequattro cento e quaranta due. Il suo padre, un marinaio Portoghese, era nominato, di commun consenso, per condottiere principale in un viaggio di scoperta sulla costa Africana. Christoforo, il secondo figlio, volendo seguire la medesima occupazione, cominciò a studiare le lingue, la navigazione, e le altre scienze che erano necessarie per scoprire nuovi paesi."

According to Lerafini, who was also a Genoese by birth, Christopher Columbus was born in Genoa, in the year one thousand four hundred and forty-two. His father, he says, a native of Portugal, was so skilful a mariner, that by the common consent of his followers he was appointed to the chief command of a small Genoese squadron, which had been fitted out for a voyage of discovery on the coast of Africa. Christopher, the second son, wishing to pursue the same course of life, to which his father had been trained, applied himself with the greatest industry and perseverance to the study of the Latin tongue, the only language in which science was taught at that time: he was also instructed in all those branches, which are connected with navigation, such as Geometry, Cosmography, Astronomy, and the art of Drawing. Thus qualified, he went to sea at the age of fourteen, and began his career on that element, which conducted him to so much glory, and proved so interesting to mankind in general and to the inhabitants of Europe in particular.

As his early voyages were confined to those ports in the Mediterranean, which were frequented by his countrymen, the Genoese, his active mind could not be satisfied, until he had made an excursion to the northern seas and visited

the coasts of Iceland, to which the English and other nations had begun to resort on account of its fisheries. The fame which was now acquired in navigation, excited such emulation among the more enterprizing mariners, that Columbus ventured to proceed several degrees within the polar circle and advanced beyond that island, which is called the Thule of the ancients. Having satisfied his curiosity by this voyage, which tended more to enlarge his knowledge of naval affairs, than to improve his fortune, he entered into the service of a famous sea captain of his own name and family. This man who commanded a small squadron, with which he cruised sometimes against the Mahometans, sometimes against the Venetians, the rivals of his country in trade. With him Columbus continued several years, no less distinguished for his courage, than for his experience as a sailor. At length, in an obstinate engagement off the coast of Portugal, with some Venetian caravals, returning richly laden from the Low Countries, the vessel on board which he served took fire, together with one of the enemy's ships to which it was fast grappled. In this dreadful extremity his intrepidity and presence of mind did not forsake him. He threw himself into the sea, laid hold of a floating oar, and by support of it, and his own dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, though above two leagues distant, and saved a life reserved for great undertakings.

Columbus immediately repaired to the court of Portugal, where they conceived such a favourable opinion of his merit, as well as his talents, that they warmly solicited him to remain in that kingdom. Columbus listened with a favourable ear to the advice of his friends, and, having gained the esteem of a Portuguese lady, whom he married, he fixed his residence in Lisbon. As his father-in-law, Bartholomew Perestrello, was one of the captains who were employed by Prince Henry, when the islands of Porto Santo and Maderia were discovered and planted, Columbus got possession of the journals and charts of Perestrello, who was an experienced navigator. The

more he contemplated the maps and read the description of the new countries which Perestrello had discovered, the more impatient he became to visit them. In order, therefore, to indulge his favourite passion, he made a voyage to Madeira, and continued during several years to trade with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

During such a variety of voyages to almost every part of the globe with which, at that time, any intercourse was carried on by sea, Columbus was now become one of the most skilful navigators in Europe. But not satisfied with that praise, his ambition aimed at something more. The successful progress of the Portuguese navigators had awakened a spirit of curiosity and emulation, which set every man of science upon examining all the circumstances that led to the discoveries which they had made, or that afforded a prospect of succeeding in any new and bolder undertaking. The mind of Columbus, naturally inquisitive, capable of deep reflection, and turned to speculations of this kind, was so often employed in revolving the principles on which the Portuguese had founded their schemes of discovery, and the mode in which they had carried them on, that he gradually began to form an idea of improving on their plan, and of accomplishing discoveries which hitherto they had attempted in vain.

To find out a passage by sea to the East Indies, was the grand object in view at that period. From the time that the Portuguese doubled Cape de Verd, this was the point at which they aimed in all their navigations, and in comparison with it all their discoveries in Africa appeared inconsiderable. The fertility and riches of India had been known for many ages; its spices and other commodities were in high reputation throughout Europe, and the vast wealth of the Venetians arising from their having engrossed this trade, had raised the envy of all nations. More than half a century had been employed by the Portuguese in advancing from Cape Non to the equator, in hopes of

arriving at India by steering towards the south and turning to the east, after they had sailed round the farther extremity of Africa. Even although they could succeed in arriving at India by pursuing this course, they were at last convinced that the remaining part of the navigation from the equator to India was extensive, that it could not but be attended with uncertainty, danger, and tediousness. These difficulties naturally led Columbus to consider whether a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies might not be found out. After revolving long and seriously every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge, in the theory as well as practice of navigation, and comparing attentively the observations of modern pilots, with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded that by sailing directly towards the west across the Atlantic Ocean, new countries which probably formed a part of the great continent of India must infallibly be discovered. Columbus was confirmed in his opinion by the accounts of a certain Portuguese pilot, who having stretched farther to the west than was usual at that time, took up a piece of timber, artificially carved, floating on the sea; and as it was driven towards him by a westerly wind, he concluded that it came from some unknown land situated in that quarter.

Pieces of timber fashioned in the same manner, and floating on the waves, were seen by several Portuguese pilots, to the west of the Maderia isles, and thither they were brought by a westerly wind. Canes of an enormous size had been found, which resembled those described by Ptolemy as productions peculiar to the East Indies. After a course of westerly winds, trees torn up by the roots were often driven upon the coasts of the Azores, and at one time the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, resembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa, were cast ashore there.

As the force of this united evidence, arising from theoretical and practical observations, led Columbus to expect the discovery of new countries in the western ocean, other

reasons induced him to believe that these must be connected with the continent of India. Though the ancients had hardly ever penetrated into India farther than the banks of the Ganges, yet some Greek authors had ventured to describe the provinces beyond that river. As men are prone, and at liberty, to magnify what is remote or unknown, they represented them as regions of an immense extent. Ctesias affirmed that India was as large as all the rest of Asia. Onesicritus, whom Pliny, the naturalist, follows, contended that it was equal to a third part of the inhabitable earth. Nearchus asserted, that it would take four months to march in a straight line from one extremity of India to the other. The journals of Marco Polo, who had proceeded towards the east, far beyond the limits to which any European had ever advanced, seemed to confirm these exaggerated accounts of the ancients.

From the magnificent descriptions which Marco Polo gave of Carthay and Cipango, and of many other countries on that continent, it appeared to Columbus that India was a region of vast extent. He concluded, that in proportion as the continent of India stretched out towards the east, it must, in consequence of the spherical figure of the earth, approach nearer to the islands which had lately been discovered to the west of Africa; that the distance from the one to the other was probably not very considerable, and that the most direct, as well as the shortest course, to the remote regions of the East, was to be found by sailing due west. Although he was supported in this opinion by some of the most eminent writers among the ancients, still, not wishing to rest with absolute assurance, either upon his own arguments or upon the authority of the ancients, he consulted such of his contemporaries as he considered capable of comprehending the nature of the evidence which he had produced. At that time, as the most distinguished astronomer and cosmographer was one Paul, an eminent physician of Florence, Columbus failed not to communicate to him his ideas concerning the probability of discovering new countries by sailing westward.

The learned physician highly approved of the plan, and exhorted Columbus to persevere in so laudable an undertaking. Columbus, being fully satisfied with respect to the truth of his system and a successful issue, was impatient to bring it to the test; and, wishing that his native country should first reap the fruits of his labours, he laid the scheme before the senate of Genoa. But the Genoese, unfortunately for their commonwealth, were unacquainted with the abilities and character of the projector, by reason of his having resided so long in foreign countries, that they rejected his plan as a chimerical undertaking. The country which had the second claim to his service was Portugal, where he had been long established. To John the Second, king of Portugal, therefore, he made the next tender of his service, by offering to sail under the Portuguese flag, in quest of the new regions which he expected to discover. At first he met with a favourable reception from the king, to whom the professional skill and personal good qualities of Columbus were well known. As King John was a monarch of an enterprising spirit, and no incompetent judge in naval affairs, he listened to Columbus in a most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortiz, bishop of Cereta, and two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. Here Columbus had to combat with prejudice, an enemy no less formidable than the ignorance of the Genoese, who were so little accustomed to distant voyages, that they could form no just idea of the principles on which he founded his hopes of success. The persons, according to whose decision his scheme was to be adopted or rejected in Portugal, had been the chief directors of the Portuguese navigations, and contended with great confidence that India could be arrived at by pursuing a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended. Under these circumstances they could not approve of his proposals, without submitting to the double mortification of condemning their own theory, and of acknowledging his superior sagacity

After Columbus had given such a particular explanation of his system, as might lead them into a knowledge of its nature, they declined passing any judgment in its favour. On the contrary they endeavoured to undermine him by advising the king to despatch a vessel, secretly, in order to attempt the discovery, by following exactly the course which Columbus seemed to point out. John, forgetting on this occasion the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counsel. But the pilot chosen to execute Columbus's plan, had neither the genius nor the fortitude of its author. Contrary winds arose, no sight of approaching land appeared, his courage failed, and he returned to Lisbon execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

On learning this dishonourable transaction, Columbus immediately quitted Portugal and landed in Spain in order to court the protection of Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. Spain was now engaged in a dangerous war with Granada, the last of the Moorish kingdoms in that country; and as Columbus had already experienced the uncertain issue of applications to kings and ministers, he took the precaution, at that critical juncture, of sending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas, in order that he might negotiate with Henry VII., who was reputed one of the most sagacious as well as opulent princes in Europe. Ferdinand and Isabella, though fully occupied by their operations against the Moors, paid so much regard to Columbus as to remit the consideration of his plan to the queen's confessor, Ferdinand de Talavera. This prelate consulted such of his countrymen as he considered the most skilful in navigation.

But Spain could not at that time boast of having produced men who were versed in true science, so that those who were selected to decide a matter of such moment, did not comprehend the first principles upon which Columbus founded his conjectures. Some of them, from mistaken

notions concerning the dimensions of the globe, contended that a voyage to those remote parts of the east which Columbus expected to discover, could not be performed in less than three years. Others concluded that he would either find the ocean to be of infinite extent, according to the opinion of some ancient philosophers, or if he should persist in steering towards the west beyond a certain point, that the convex figure of the globe would prevent his return, and that he must inevitably perish, in the vain attempt to open a communication between the two opposite hemispheres, which nature had for ever disjoined.

They maintained that if such countries existed, as Columbus represented, they could not have remained so long concealed, to be at last discovered by an obscure Genoese. He was, therefore, looked upon as a presumptuous man, who pretended that he alone possessed knowledge superior to all the rest of mankind. Here, also, Columbus had to contend with the same ignorance and pride of false knowledge which counteracted his plans in Portugal. Five years had now elapsed in fruitless endeavours, when Talavera, to whom the decision was referred, made such an unfavourable report to Ferdinand and Isabella as induced them to acquaint Columbus, that until the war with the Moors should be brought to a period, it would be imprudent to engage in any new and expensive enterprise. Columbus's hopes of success were, however, so sanguine that his enthusiasm was not to be cooled by delays, nor damped by disappointment. He next applied to persons of inferior rank, and addressed successively the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi, who though subjects, were possessed of power and opulence more than equal to the enterprise which he projected. Columbus met with the same mortifying disappointment from these noblemen, who either from their ignorance of the force of his arguments, or a dread of offending the pride of a sovereign who would not countenance the scheme, rejected the plan as the invention of a chimerical projector.

Among these disappointments, Columbus had also the

mortification to be unacquainted with the fate of his brother, who, as has been said by some Spanish historians, fell into the hands of pirates on his way to England; and having been stripped of everything, was detained a prisoner for several years. At length he made his escape and arrived in London, but in such extreme indigence, that he was obliged to employ himself during a considerable time, in drawing and selling maps, in order to pick up as much money as would purchase a decent dress, in which he might venture to appear at court. He then laid before the king the proposals with which he had been entrusted by his brother, and notwithstanding Henry's excessive caution and parsimony which rendered him averse to new or expensive undertakings, he received Columbus's overtures with more approbation than any monarch to whom they had hitherto been presented. At this time Columbus seeing that he had no prospect of encouragement in Spain, was preparing to follow his brother to England.

But Juan Perez, the guardian of the monastery in which Columbus's children had been educated, and a man of some credit with Isabella, prevailed on him to defer his journey for a short time. This learned monk, being a considerable proficient in mathematical knowledge, soon became acquainted with the abilities and integrity of Columbus, to whom he was so warmly attached, that he ventured to write to Queen Isabella, conjuring her to consider the matter anew with the attention which it merited.

As there was now a certain prospect that the war with the Moors might be brought to a happy issue by the reduction of Granada, which would leave the nation at liberty to engage in new undertakings, the queen, moved by the representation of Juan Perez, a person whom she respected as a competent judge to decide in matters of this description, countenanced, for the second time, the grand schemes of Columbus. Accordingly, she desired Perez to repair to the village of Santa Fe, in which, on account of the siege of Granada, the court resided at that time, that she might confer with him on this important subject. This

interview proved so favourable, that Columbus received a warm invitation to return to court. His former friends, therefore, Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castile, and Louis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Arragon, seeing this happy change in favour of Columbus, appeared with greater confidence than ever to support his scheme. Although Isabella expressed her approbation, still Ferdinand pronounced the scheme to be impracticable. Columbus, however, as if determined to surmount every obstacle that could be thrown in his way, appeared before them with the same confident hopes of success as formerly, and insisted upon the same high recompense. Columbus proposed that a small fleet should be fitted out under his command, to attempt the discovery; that he should be appointed hereditary admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands which he should discover; and that he should have the tenth part of the profits arising from them settled irrevocably upon himself and his descendants. At the same time he offered to advance the eighth part of the sum necessary for accomplishing his design, on condition that he should be entitled to a proportional share of benefit from the adventure.

If the enterprise should totally fail, he made no stipulation for any reward or emolument whatever. But the persons with whom Columbus was treating, began to calculate the enormous expense of the expedition, and the exorbitant reward which he demanded for himself. In this imposing garb of caution and prudence, they misrepresented everything to Ferdinand, who opposed the adventure from the commencement, Isabella, though more generous and enterprising, was under the influence of her husband in all her actions, and declined again giving any countenance to Columbus. Thus Columbus almost despaired of success, and withdrew from court in deep anguish, with an intention of prosecuting his voyage to England, as his last resource. About that time, Granada surrendered, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in triumphal pomp, took pos-

session of a city, the reduction of which extirpated a sovereign power from the heart of their dominions, and rendered them masters of all the provinces extending from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal.

As the flow of spirits which accompanies success elevates the mind, and renders it enterprising, Quintanilla and Santangel, the vigilant and discerning patrons of Columbus, took advantage of this favourable situation, in order to make one effort more in behalf of their friend. They addressed themselves to Isabella, and represented Columbus as a man of sound understanding and virtuous character, well qualified by his experience in navigation, as well as his knowledge in geometry to form just ideas with respect to the structure of the globe and the situation of its various regions. The sum requisite, they said, for equipping such an armament as he demanded, was inconsiderable, and the advantages which might accrue from his undertaking were immense. They also convinced her that his offer to risk his life and fortune in the execution of his scheme, gave the most satisfying evidence both of his integrity and hope of success.

These forcible arguments, urged by persons of such authority, and at a juncture so well chosen, produced the desired effect. They dispelled all Isabella's fears and doubts. She ordered Columbus to be instantly recalled, and declared her resolution to employ him on his own terms. The state of her finances were at that time so low, that she offered to pledge her own jewels, in order to raise as much money as might be required to accomplish his design. Santangel, however, lest she might have recourse to such a mortifying expedient engaged to advance immediately the sum that was requisite. Columbus, upon hearing this unexpected revolution in his favour, returned to Santa Fe, for he was now several leagues on his journey to England. The negotiation now went forward with facility and despatch, and a treaty of capitulation with Columbus was signed on the seventeenth of April, 1492.

The chief articles of it were: 1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents which might be discovered by his industry; and stipulated, that he and his heirs forever should enjoy this office, with the same powers and prerogatives which belonged to the high admiral of Castile, within the limits of his jurisdiction.

2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents which he should discover; but if, for the better administration of affairs, it should hereafter be necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries, they authorized Columbus to name three persons, of whom they would choose one, for that office; and the dignity of viceroy, with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus.

3. They granted to Columbus, and his heirs forever, the tenth part of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries he should discover.

4. They declared that if any controversy or lawsuit should arise, with respect to any mercantile transaction in the countries which should be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him.

5. They permitted Columbus to advance oneeighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries he should discover, and entitled him in return to one eighth part of the profit.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Isabella, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations for the voyage, endeavoured to make some reparation to Columbus for the time he had lost in fruitless solicitation. By the 12th of May, all that depended upon her was adjusted.

After Columbus had waited on the king and queen, and received his final instructions, Isabella ordered the ships of which Columbus was to take the command, to be

fitted out in the port of Palos, a small maritime town in the province of Andalusia. Fortunately for Columbus, Juan Perez, who always interested himself in behalf of this enterprising navigator, resided in the neighbourhood of this place, and by the influence of this good ecclesiastic, Columbus not only procured the sum he was bound by treaty to advance, but also engaged several of the inhabitants to accompany him in the voyage. The chief of these associates were three brothers of the name of Pinzon, of considerable wealth and of great experience in naval affairs, who were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in the expedition. But after all the efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament was not suitable, either to the dignity of the nation by which it was equipped, or to the importance of the service for which it was destined.

The small squadron consisted of three vessels. The largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus as admiral, who gave it the name of *Santa Maria*, out of respect for the Virgin Mary. The second, which was called the *Pinta*, was commanded by Martin Pinzon. Of the third, named the *Nigna*, Vincent Yanez was captain. This squadron was victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, mostly sailors, together with a few adventurers who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him.

Though the expense of the undertaking was one of the circumstances which chiefly alarmed the court of Spain, and retarded so long the negotiation with Columbus, the sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed four thousand pounds.

As the art of ship building in the fifteenth century was extremely rude, and the bulk of the vessels was accommodated to the short and easy voyage along the coast, which they were accustomed to perform, it is a proof of the courage as well as the enterprising genius of Columbus, that he ventured, with a fleet so unfit for a distant navigation, to

explore unknown seas, where he had no chart to guide him, no knowledge of the tides and currents, and no experience of the dangers to which he might be exposed.

His eagerness to accomplish the great design which had so long engrossed his thoughts, made him overlook or disregard every circumstance that would have intimidated a mind less adventurous. He pushed forward the preparations with such ardour, and was seconded so effectually by the persons to whom Isabella had committed the superintendence of this business, that every thing was soon in readiness for the voyage. But as Columbus was deeply impressed with sentiments of religion, he would not set out on an expedition so arduous, and of which one great object was to propagate the Christian faith, without imploring publicly the protection and guidance of Heaven. With this view, he, together with all the persons under his command, marched in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida, where, having confessed their sins, they received the holy sacrament from the hands of the guardian, Juan Perez, who joined his prayers to theirs for the success of an enterprise which he had so zealously patronized.

Next morning, being Friday the 3d of August, in the year 1492, Columbus set sail, a little before sun rise, in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, who sent up their supplications to Heaven, for the prosperous issue of the voyage, which they wished rather than expected. Columbus steered directly for the Canary Islands, and arrived there, August 13, 1492, without any occurrence that would have deserved notice on any other occasion. But, in a voyage of such expectation and importance, every circumstance was the object of attention. The rudder of the *Pinta* broke loose, the day after she left the harbour, and that accident alarmed the crew, no less superstitious than unskilful, as a certain omen of the unfortunate destiny of the expedition.

Even in the short run to the Canaries, the ships were found to be so crazy and ill-appointed, as to be very im-

proper for a navigation, which was expected to be both long and dangerous. Columbus refitted them, however, to the best of his power, and having supplied himself with fresh provisions, he took his departure from *Gomera*, one of the most westerly of the Canary Islands, on the sixth day of September.

Here the voyage of discovery may probably be said to begin ; for Columbus, holding his course due west, left immediately the usual track of navigation, and stretched into unfrequented and unknown seas. The first day, as it was very calm, he made but little way ; but on the second, he lost sight of the Canaries ; and many of the sailors, dejected already and dismayed, when they contemplated the boldness of the undertaking, began to beat their breasts and to shed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with assurances of success, and the prospect of vast wealth, in those opulent regions whither he was conducting them.

This early discovery of the spirit of his followers taught Columbus, that he must prepare to struggle, not only with the unavoidable difficulties which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with such as were likely to arise from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command ; and he perceived that the art of governing the minds of men would be no less requisite for accomplishing the discoveries which he had in view, than naval skill and undaunted courage. Happily for himself and the country by which he was employed, he joined to the ardent temper and inventive genius of a projector, virtues of another species, which are rarely united with them. He possessed a thorough knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance in executing any plan, the perfect government of his passions, and the talent of acquiring an ascendant of those of other men. All these qualifications which formed him for command, were accompanied with that superior knowledge of his profession which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. To unskilful Spanish sailors, accustomed

only to coasting voyages in the Mediterranean, the maritime science of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years' experience, improved by an acquaintance with all the inventions of the Portuguese, appeared immense. As soon as they put to sea he regulated everything by his sole authority; he superintended the execution of every order; and allowing himself only a few hours for sleep, he was at all other times on deck. As his course lay through seas which had not formerly been visited, the sounding line or instruments for observation were continually in his hands. After the example of the Portuguese discoverers, he attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fishes, of sea weeds, and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence with a minute exactness in the journal which he kept. As the length of the voyage could not fail of alarming sailors habituated only to short excursions; Columbus endeavoured to conceal from them the real progress which they had made with this view, though they had run eighteen leagues on the second day after they had left Gomera, he gave out that they had advanced only fifteen, and he uniformly employed the same artifice during the whole voyage. By the 14th of September the fleet was above two hundred leagues to the west of the Canary isles, at a greater distance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time. There they were struck with an appearance no less astonishing than new. They observed that the magnetic needle, in their compasses, did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. This appearance which is now familiar, though it still remains one of the mysteries of nature, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundless unknown ocean, far from the usual course of navigation; nature itself seemed to be altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, invented a reason for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, seemed

so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears and silenced their murmurs

He still continued to steer due west, nearly in the same latitude with the Canary Islands. In this course he came within the sphere of the trade wind, which blows invariably from east to west, between the tropics and a few degrees beyond them. He advanced before this steady gale, with such uniform rapidity that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail. When about four hundred leagues to the west of the Canaries he found the sea so covered with weeds, that it resembled a meadow of vast extent; and in some places they were so thick as to retard the motion of the vessels. This strange appearance occasioned new alarm and disquiet. The sailors imagined that they had now arrived at the utmost boundary of the navigable ocean; that these floating weeds would obstruct their farther progress, and conceal dangerous rocks, or some large tract of land, which had sunk, they knew not how, in that place. Columbus endeavoured to persuade them, that what had alarmed, ought to have encouraged them, and was to be considered as a sign of approaching land. At the same time a brisk gale arose, and carried them forward. Several birds were seen hovering about the ships, and directed their flight towards the west. The desponding crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain fresh hopes.

Upon the first of October they were, according to the Admiral's reckoning, seven hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the Canaries; but lest his men should be intimidated by the prodigious length of navigation, he gave out that they had proceeded only five hundred and eighty-four leagues; and fortunately for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships, had skill sufficient to correct this error and discover the deceit. They had now been above three weeks at sea, and had advanced far beyond what former navigators attempted or deemed possible. All their prognostics of discovery, drawn from the flight of birds and other circumstances proved falla

cious. This disappointment made first and impression on the minds of the timid and ignorant; but by degrees the contagion spread from ship to ship. From secret whisperings and murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. They taxed their sovereign with inconsiderate credulity, in paying such regard to the vain promises and rash conjectures of an indigent foreigner. They affirmed that they had done their duty, by venturing so far in an unknown and hopeless course, without any probability of discovering those new countries which their commander described.

Columbus was now fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed with great uneasiness the fatal operation of ignorance and fear. He saw to his great mortification, that the disaffection among the crew was ready to burst out into an open mutiny. Notwithstanding the agitation and solicitude of his mind, Columbus pretended to be ignorant of their machinations, and appeared before them with a cheerful countenance, like a man satisfied with the progress he had made. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to soothe his men. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition or avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occasions, he assumed a tone of authority and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if by their dastardly behaviour, they would defeat this noble effort to exalt the Spanish name above that of every other nation. Even with seditious sailors, the words of a man whom they had been accustomed to reverence, were weighty and persuasive, and not only restrained them from violent excesses, which they meditated, but prevailed on them to accompany him for some time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain, and excited some in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks, making towards the south-west. Columbus, in imitation of the Portuguese navigators, who had been guided in several of their dis-

coveries, by the motion of birds, altered his course from due west towards that quarter whither they pointed their flight. But, after holding on for several days in this new direction, without any better success than formerly, the hopes of his companions subsided faster than they had risen. Impatience, rage, and despair appeared on every countenance; all sense of subordination was lost, and the officers who had formerly concurred with Columbus in opinion, and supported his authority, now took part with the private men; they assembled tumultuously on the deck, expostulated with the commander, mingled threats with expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about and return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourse to his former arts, which having been tried so often, had lost their effect; and that it was impossible to rekindle any zeal for the success of the expedition among men, in whose hearts' fear had extinguished every generous sentiment. He saw that it would be no less vain to think of employing either gentle or severe measures, to quell a mutiny so general and violent. At this critical juncture, he promised solemnly that he would return, provided they would accompany him three days longer. Enraged as the sailors were, this proposition did not appear unreasonable. The presages of discovering land became now more numerous. The flocks of birds increased, and were composed not only of sea fowl, but of such land birds as could not be supposed fly far from the shore.

The crew of the Pinta observed a cane floating, which seemed to have been newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors aboard the Nigna took up the branch of a tree with red berries perfectly fresh. The clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance; the air was more mild and warm, and during night, the wind became unequal and variable. From all these symptoms, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the eleventh of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled.

and the ships to lie to, keeping strict watch, lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had been so long the object of their wishes. About two hours before midnight, Columbus, standing on the forecastle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutherez, a page of the queen's wardrobe. Gutherez perceived it, and calling to Salcedo comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight, the joyful sound of *land, land*, was heard from the Pinta, which kept always ahead of the other ships. But, having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was now become slow of belief, and waited in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience, for the return of day. As soon as morning dawned, Friday, October 12, all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen about two leagues to the north, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the Pinta instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to heaven, was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation, mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and had so often obstructed the prosecution of his well-concerted plan: and passing in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man, whom they had so lately reviled and threatened to be a person sent by heaven with sagacity and fortitude more than human, in order to accomplish a design, so far beyond the ideas and conceptions of all former ages.

As soon as the sun arose, all their boats were manned and armed. They rowed towards the islands with their colours displayed, with warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects which presented themselves to their view. Columbus was the first European who set foot in the new world which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed, and kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They next erected a crucifix, and prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such a happy issue. They then took solemn possession of the country for the crown of Castile and Leon, with all the formalities which the Portuguese were accustomed to observe in acts of this kind, in their own discoveries.

The Spaniards, while thus employed, were surrounded by many of the natives, who gazed in silent admiration upon actions which they could not comprehend, and of which they did not foresee the consequences. The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skins, their beards, their arms appeared strange and surprising.

The vast machine in which they had traversed the ocean, that seemed to move in the water with wings, and uttered a dreadful sound resembling thunder, accompanied with lightning and smoke, struck them with such terror, that they began to respect their new guests as a superior order of beings, and concluded that they were children of the sun, who had descended to visit the earth.

The Europeans were hardly less amazed at the scene now before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree was different from those which flourished in Europe. The soil seemed to be rich, but bore few marks of cultivation. The climate, even to Spaniards, felt warm, though ex-

tremely delightful. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses around their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was of a dusky copper colour, their features singular; rather than disagreeable, their aspect gentle and timid; though not tall, they were well shaped, and active. Their faces and several parts of their bodies were fantastically painted with glaring colours. They were shy at first, through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards, and with transports of joy received from them hawk's-bills, glass beads, or other baubles in return, for which they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value they could produce. Towards evening Columbus returned to the ships, accompanied by many of the islanders in their boats, which they called *canoes*, and, though rudely formed out of the trunk of a single tree, they rowed them with surprising dexterity. Thus in the first interview between the inhabitants of the old and new worlds, every thing was conducted amicably, and to their mutual satisfaction. The former, enlightened and ambitious, formed already vast ideas with respect to the advantages which they might derive from the regions which began to open to their view. The latter, simple and undiscerning, had no foresight of the calamities and desolation which were approaching their country. Columbus, who now assumed the title and authority of admiral and viceroy, called the island which he discovered *San Salvador*.

It is better known by the name of *Guanahani*, which the natives gave it, and is one of that large cluster of islands called the Lucaya or Bahama Isles. Thus Columbus, by his superior sagacity and fortitude had conducted the Spaniards, by a rout concealed from past ages, to the knowledge of the new world. No event ever proved so interesting to mankind in general, and to the inhabitants of

Europe in particular, as the discovery of America and the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope: it at once gave rise to a revolution in the commerce and in the power of nations, as well as in the manners, industry, and government of almost the whole world. At this period new connexions were formed by the inhabitants of the most distant regions, for the supply of wants they had never before experienced. The production of climates situated under the equator were consumed in countries bordering on the pole; the industry of the north was transplanted to the south; and the inhabitants of the west were clothed with the manufactures of the east; in short, a general intercourse of opinions, laws, and customs, diseases and remedies, virtues and vices, were established among them.

Such is a brief account of the discovery of America by Columbus; and with respect to the voyage itself and what relates to the famous navigator and his vicissitudes of fortune at the court of Spain, we have chiefly followed Wint:rbotham, frequently verbatim.

ORIGIN

OF THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

HAVING given an account of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, we shall now proceed to account for the peopling of this continent. When America was discovered, it was found habited by a race of people, no less different from the inhabitants of Europe, Africa, and the greater part of Asia, than the climate and natural productions of the new world are different from those of the old. To trace the descent of the red men who are melting, as was said by one of their most celebrated warriors,* "like snow before the sun," and perpetuate their national character on the page of history, before they totally disappear as a portion of the human race, will, we have no doubt, be no less gratifying to the scientific than to the curious. In perambulating this labyrinth of obscurity and antiquity, no safer guide can be offered us, than a portrait of the characteristic features of the Indians, which, when compared with the national character of some Asiatic tribes, will, by the resemblance which,

* The noted Miami chief Mishikinakwa, or Little Turtle, who contributed most to the defeat of St. Clair.

in their manners, habits, and customs, they bear to each other, lead us to the original source whence sprang the North American Indians. The European colonies in America have now become too numerous and too powerful to fear the effects of savage barbarity, and when fear ceases, contempt is the natural consequence. While the Indians are thus despised and forgotten as the original proprietors of this vast continent, which has served as a refuge to the oppressed inhabitants of Europe, in general they are by many deemed unworthy the attention of the antiquary. The Indians, it is true, cannot be classed among civilized nations, who cultivated the arts, agriculture, and commerce; still, leading a barbarous life as they did, it cannot be denied but that the lofty notions of honour and independence, with which the minds of some Indian tribes were imbued and urged them to deeds of admirable heroism and striking generosity, is a proof of elevation of mind and refinement of sentiment; qualities, perhaps, which are seldom to be found among those who charge the Indians with an inferiority of species. The greatest part of them had truly a nobleness and an equality of soul, which we seldom attain, with all the helps we can obtain from philosophy and religion. They were always masters of themselves, in the most sudden misfortunes, and the least alteration could not be perceived in their countenances. A prisoner who knew in what his captivity would end, or what, perhaps, is more surprising, who was uncertain of his fate, did not lose on this account a quarter of an hour's sleep; even the first emotions did not find them at a fault.

It is no less astonishing to see men whose whole outward appearance proclaimed nothing but barbarity, behave to each other with such kindness and regard, that are not perhaps to be experienced among the most civilized nations. This doubtless proceeded in some measure from the words *mine* and *thine* being as yet unknown to those savages. Those cold words, as St. Chrysostom calls them, which, extinguishing in our hearts the fire of

charity, light up that of covetousness. We are equally charmed with that natural and unaffected gravity which reigned in all their behaviour, in all their actions, in the greatest part of their diversions, as likewise with the civility and deference they showed to their equals, and the respect of the young people to the aged ; and, lastly, to see that they never quarrelled among themselves with those indecent expressions, and the oaths and curses so common among the whites. All these are proofs of good sense and a great command of temper.

The Indians have been frequently misrepresented by writers, who have been either prejudiced against them from some impure motives, or who had been too transiently resident amongst them, to ascertain with any accuracy the real character of the Indians ; for the Indians are not communicative in relation to their national peculiarities, or original descent. It requires, therefore, a good deal of familiar, attentive, and unsuspecting observation to obtain any knowledge respecting them, as they have neither records nor oral tradition to throw any degree of satisfactory light on their character and descent.

The speculative opinions of several historians who wrote concerning the religion of the Indian tribes of America, and the question, whence America might have been peopled, led to many misrepresentations of the religious rites, language, and customs of its original inhabitants. They discovered affinities which existed nowhere, but in the fanciful invention of the discoverers. Gomara, Lerus, and Lescarbot inferred, from some resemblance of this kind, that America had been peopled by the Canaanites, when they were expelled by Joshua. The celebrated Grotius, adopting the opinion of Martyr, imagined that Yucatan, a province of New Spain, was first colonized by the Ethiopians, and that those Ethiopians were Christians. The human mind derives pleasure from paradox, for the same reason that it delights in wit. Both produce new and surprising combinations of thought, and the judgment being overpowered by the

fervours of imagination, becomes for a time insensible to their extravagance.

✓ The opinion extensively prevails, that the North American Indians are descendants of the tribes of Israel. This so possessed the mind of Adair, that, although he had the greatest opportunity of obtaining knowledge, his book is comparatively of little use. We are constantly led to suspect the fidelity of his statements, because his judgment had lost its equipoise, and he saw every thing through a discoloured medium.

It is impossible for the religious man not to take particular interest in the history of the Hebrews; and while he reads of the extermination of the kingdom of Israel, when the blindfolded tribes were torn from the land of their prerogative, his soul must be filled with compassion for their misfortunes. Their subsequent history is attended with such impenetrable darkness, that this sentiment of compassion naturally combines with curiosity, to penetrate even the forests of the western continent, in order to identify the lost tribes of Israel. This has actually been the case, for the idea of tracing to America the long lost tribes of Israel rose before the imagination of many with captivating splendour. In the establishment however of this theory, the judgments of those who endeavoured to make researches this way were so much perverted, that resemblances were imagined which had no existence in reality.* The affinity, it is true, of languages tends in some measure to point out the connexion of nations; but this depends on the high or low degree of similarity which we find when we collate the one language with the other. In the Celtic language, for example, we find several words which bear so radical resemblance to the Indian, especially to that language which is spoken by the Algonquins: but hence, it would not be reasonable to conclude a consanguinity between the Irish and the North American Indians. It is, there-

* See Jarvis On the Religion of the Indians.

fore, on the resemblance which a few words in the languages of the Indians of North America bear to the Hebrew, that some authors have contended with a great deal of confidence, that the lost tribes of Israel are the red men of North America. ✓

On the continent of America three radical languages are spoken by the Indians, exclusive of the Karalit or Esquimeaux. Mr. Heckewelder denominates them the Iroquois, the Lenape, and the Floridian; the Iroquois is spoken by the six nations, the Wyandots or Hurons, the Naudowessies, the Assiniboils, and other tribes beyond the St. Lawrence.

The Lenape, which is the most widely extended language on this side of the Mississippi, was spoken by the tribes now extinct, who formerly inhabited Nova Scotia and the present State of Maine, the Abenakis, Micmacs, Cannibas, Openangos, Soccokis, Etchemins, and Souriquois; dialects of it are now spoken by the Miamis, the Potanotamies, Mississagoos, and Kickapoos, the Conestogos, Nanticokos, Shawanese, and Mohicans. the Algonquins, the Knistewans, and Chippeways. The Floridian includes the languages of the Creeks or Muscohgees, Chickesaas, Choctaws, Pascagoulas, the Cherokees, Seminoles, and several others in the southern parts of Florida. These three languages are primitive, that is to say, are so distantly related, as to have no perceivable affinity.

Seeing therefore that there are three primitive languages spoken by the North American Indians, which have no radical connexion the one with the other, it would be absurd to countenance for a moment the assertion, that the red men of America are the lost tribes of Israel, without having a better proof than a similarity, as we have already mentioned, between a few Indian and Hebrew words. The distant relation itself between these three primitive languages of America is enough to overthrow the argument; for, if the Indians are the descendants of the Hebrews, it would certainly follow that almost all the dialects, especially the three primitive lan-

guages, would not only bear a most striking resemblance to the Hebrew, but would also be more nearly allied among themselves. Besides there is one striking peculiarity in the construction of American languages, which has no counterpart in the Hebrew. Instead of the ordinary division of genders, they divide them into animate and inanimate.

But this is not the only instance, in which the Hebrew and the Indian languages differ in their idioms. To enumerate, however, all the idiomatical discordances of the Indian and Hebrew languages, will not be necessary on the present occasion, as we shall prove in the following pages, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the Indians are descended from a different source. Those, therefore, who contend from merely a slight affinity of languages, that they have discovered the long lost tribes of Israel on the western continent, might as well say that the Arabians and Abyssinians are the lost tribes of Israel, for their languages have a very strong affinity with the Hebrew. Were we even to allow the affinity of languages in its fullest extent, the only legitimate inference would be, that the languages of America are of Oriental origin, and consequently that America was peopled from Asia.

But the affinity between the Hebrew and the Indian languages of America, is so slight and imperceptible that we could scarcely be induced, on this ground alone, to believe even the Asiatic origin of the North American Indians. However much the language of the primitive inhabitants of the western continent became altered by the revolutions, which are incident to communities and nations, it is not to be presumed, that the original language was totally extinguished; some vestiges would still remain, as a monument of its original descent. Pere Leveque, who paid the strictest attention to the national peculiarities of all the tribes of North American Indians, among whom he had a chance to dwell during his missionary travels in North America, has given us much

useful information respecting the early condition of the Aborigines of this country. Although his researches are neither so extensive nor so valuable as those of Charlevoix his countrymen, still, it would appear that his travels were not at all confined to the French Colony, as was generally the case with the missionaries of Canada. While he describes the red man in his original state as minutely and as correctly as any other who had gone before him or come after him, his judgment inclines neither to the right, nor to the left, as he had but one object in view, which was a fair and an honest statement of facts, as may easily be seen from his candour and impartiality without the slightest prejudice, either for or against the race of people whose characteristic he endeavours to delineate.

"Nothing can be more absurd,"* says our author, "than to believe for a moment, that the western continent had been peopled by the lost tribes of Israel, or at least that the present Indians of America are the lost Israelites. Adair, as every person knows, has assumed an extraordinary and singular position on this subject, while he finds, or rather pretends to find, an affinity between the Jews and the American Indians, in all those respects which can be called national. This author is said to have lived forty years among the Aborigines of the country, which may be true for all we know, but it is certainly true, that few or none have gone before, or come after him, who witnessed what he witnessed, or viewed the Indians as he viewed them. In this assertion, all those who are in the least acquainted with the manners and customs of the red men, will, no doubt, concur with me. Is it not strange, that, after discovering the Mosaic law, or at least the leading statutes of it, he had not also observed a *Synagogue*? If he had at once the audacity to tell us that he was in the habit of attending Divine Worship with

* Pere Lereque sur l'origine des Aborigenes du nouveau monde, p. 58.

them on the Sabbath day, who could dare deny but Adair made out his point! notwithstanding this deficiency, our author's book is furnished with sufficient evidence to show, that he is himself a most superficial observer, or a huge impostor. '*Il ne lui appartenait que de connaître la vérité, et de la dire; s'il étoit fasciné par l'esprit de parti, il ne devenoit que l'organe deserreurs.*' What influenced Adair to lose his *equilibrium* in weighing so unfairly his observations and arguments, we cannot pretend to know. This author, it is true, stands not alone in this theory, but the most of his supporters bear witness to him, on whose system they have generally built their arguments. If Julius Cæsar had been a lover of the Jews, or if he felt, in any way, interested in their affairs he could equally well have discovered the lost tribes of Israel among the ancient Gauls and Britons in his *Bel-lum Gallicum*. But Cæsar was a different historian, not only from Adair, but many others of our own day, whose religion teaches them the profession of truth as this general was, perhaps, one of the most candid and impartial historians that ever wrote. With regard, then, more particularly to the real origin of the North American Indians, I have only to say, that we must look to the numerous tribes scattered over the dreary regions in the north-east parts of Asia, as their progenitors. And if it be said, that the lost Israelites might have wandered thither, and thence have migrated to America by Beering's Straits, we can reply that the Jewish features, so peculiar to that nation, the Hebrew language, the Jewish religion, and the customs of the Jews have never been traced among the Aborigines of America."

Religion, customs, the shape and size of the body, the tinge of skin, and the features of the visage are, as well as language, indicative of the original connexion of nations. But in this view also, the relation between the Indians and tribes of Israel, is equally distant, as will be seen when we delineate the red Indian in that original state in which he was found by the first visitors from Europe.

By the discoveries of Captain Cook in his last voyage, it has been established beyond a doubt, that at Kamschatka, in about latitude 66° north, the continents of Asia and America are separated by a strait only eighteen miles wide, and that the inhabitants on each continent are similar, and frequently pass and repass in their canoes, from the one continent to the other. It is also certain, that, during the winter season, Beering's straits are frozen from the one side to the other. Captain Williamson, who was lieutenant to Cook in those voyages, has also asserted that, from the middle of the channel between Kamschatka and America, he had discovered land on either side. This short distance, therefore, he says, should account for the peopling of America from the north-east parts of Asia. The same author farther asserts, that there is a cluster of islands interspersed between the two continents; and that he frequently saw canoes passing from one island to the other. From these circumstances we may fairly conclude that America was peopled from the north-east parts of Asia; and, during our inquiry, we shall endeavour to point out facts, which tend to prove the particular tribe in Asia, from whom the North American Indians are directly descended. The Esquimeaux on the coast of Labrador are evidently a separate species of men, distinct from all the nations of the American continent, in language, disposition, and habits of life; and in all these respects, they bear a near resemblance to the Northern Europeans. Their beards are so thick and large, that it is with difficulty the features of their face can be discovered, while all the other Indian tribes of America are particularly distinguished for the want of beards. The North American Indians resemble each other, not only in mental and bodily frame, but generally in their manners, habits, and customs.

The Esquimeaux are a very diminutive race; but the other tribes are generally tall, athletic, and well proportioned. It is believed by many that the Esquimeaux Indians emigrated from the north-west parts of Europe. In

this belief we are confirmed from several circumstances. Low stature and long beards are peculiar to some countries in the north-west parts of Europe.

As early as the ninth century the Norwegians discovered Greenland, and planted colonies there. The communication with that country, after a long interruption, was renewed in the twelfth century. Some missionaries, prompted by zeal for propagating the Christian faith, ventured to settle in this frozen region. From them we have learned that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America, but by a very narrow strait, if separated at all; and that the Esquimeaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders in their aspect, dress, mode of living, and probably language. The following passage, which we have quoted from Senor Juan Perez, will tend in a great measure to identify the Esquimeaux as the descendants of the Greenlanders. Juan Perez, a Spaniard, remained for several years in Greenland and on the coasts of Labrador, as missionary for the propagation of the Christian religion:

"Los nativos de Greenland y los Indios de Labrador parecen los mismos. La identidad no consiste solamente en la forma de las personas, que no exceden cinco pies de altura, mas tambien en la complexion, que es el color amarillo. Los Indios de Labrador y los nativos de Greenland son carianchos, romos, bezudos, y tengon los ojos y los cabellos negros. La lengua de los Esquimeaux no es que un dialecto de aquella que se habla en Greenland. Esta lengua abunda en largas polisilabas. Las canoas de los dos pueblos son construidas de la misma manera. Adoran ambos al Grande Espiritu con otros inferiores que residen en todas partes. De estas y otras coincidencias que no es posible numener al presente, son convencido que la tierra de Labrador habia sido poblada por los nativos de Greenland, antes del arribo de otras naciones."

The inhabitants of Greenland, says Juan Perez, have a striking resemblance to the Esquimeaux, not only in person, which seldom exceed five feet, but in complex-

ion, which is yellow. The Esquimeaux and the inhabitants of Greenland have broad faces, flat noses, thick lips, with black eyes and hair. The language of the Esquimeaux is no other than a dialect of that language which is spoken in Greenland; abounding in polysyllables of great length. The canoe used by the Esquimeaux are exactly built of the same materials, and in the same form as those of the Greenlanders. Both these people have their *Great Spirit*, as well as several other inferior ones, residing, according to their belief, in every part of the country. From these and other circumstances, continues Juan Perez, I am convinced that the Esquimeaux are the descendants of the Greenlanders.

The coasts of Labrador, on the Atlantic, are inhabited by tribes of those people, who have been called Esquimeaux. This name has been given them by the tribes of American Indians, from whom they seem to be a people entirely different. The name signifies eaters of raw flesh, which the Esquimeaux are observed to do frequently. These tribes are said to be distinguished from the other American Indians by many characteristics. Their colour is not that of copper, but the tawny brown which distinguishes the inhabitants of the more northern parts of Europe: they all have beards, and some of them have been observed with hair of different colours, some fair and others red. These marks by which they are so evidently distinguished from the American Indians, have inclined several philosophers to believe that they are of European descent; their colour is similar to that of the inhabitants of the north of Europe. Their red and fair hair, found in the north of Europe, more frequently than, in any other part of the world; but, above all, their language, which is said to be a dialect of that spoken in East Greenland, the inhabitants of which are believed to have emigrated from Europe, seem to give this conjecture a considerable appearance of probability; besides, their religious notions are exactly the same as those of the Greenlanders. On the whole, it appears rational to believe

that the progenitors of all the American nations from Cape Horn to the southern limits of Labrador, from the similarity of their aspect, colour, language, and customs, migrated from the north-east parts of Asia; and that the nations that inhabit Labrador, Esquimeaux, and the parts adjacent, from their unlikeness to the rest of the Americans, and their resemblance to the northern Europeans, came over from the north-west parts of Europe.

Such are the most rational conjectures which we have been able to form respecting the origin of the Esquimeaux, who are evidently a different race from all the other North American Indians. It remains now to trace the descent of these other tribes, who are scattered over that country which extends from Cape Horn to the southern limits of Labrador.

We shall here quote the following passage from Brerewood, a very learned author, who paid much attention to the present subject, and lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

"It is very likely that America received her first inhabitants from the east border of Asia; so it is altogether unlike that it received them from any other part of all that border, save from Tartary. Because, in America there is not to be discerned any token or indication at all of the arts or industry of *China*, or *India*, or *Cataia*, or any other civil region, along all that border of *Asia*: but, in their gross ignorance of letters and of arts, in their idolatry, and the specialities of it, in their incivility, and many barbarous properties, they resemble the old and rude *Tartars* above all the nations of the earth. Which opinion of mine, touching the Americans descending from the *Tartars*, rather than from any other nation in that border of *Asia*, after the near vicinity of Asia to America, this reason, above all others, may best establish and persuade; because it is certain, that that north-east part of Asia possessed by the *Tartars*, is, if not continent with the west side of America, which yet remaineth somewhat doubtful, certainly, and without all doubt, the least dis-

joined by sea, of all that coast of Asia, for that those parts of *Asia* and *America* are continent the one with the other, or, at most, disjoined but by some narrow channel of the ocean, the ravenous and harmful beasts, wherewith *America* is stored, as Bears, Lions, Tigers, Wolves, Foxes, &c. (which, then, as is likely, men would never to their own harm transport out of the one continent to the other) may import. For from Noah's ark, which rested after the deluge, in Asia, all those beasts must of necessity fetch their beginning, seeing they would not proceed by the course of nature, as the imperfect sort of living creatures do, of putrefaction: or if they might have putrefaction for their parentage, or receive their original by any other sort of generation of the earth, without a special procreation of their own kind, then I see no necessity why they should, by God's special appointment, be so carefully preserved in Noah's ark (as they were) in time of the deluge. Wherefore, seeing it is certain, that those ravenous beasts of *America*, are the progeny of those of the same kind in Asia, and that men, as is likely, conveyed them not (to their own prejudice) from the one continent to the other, it carrieth a great likelihood and appearance of truth, that if they join not together, yet are they near neighbours, and but little disjoined the one from the other, for even to this day, in the isles of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *Hispaniola*, *Burichena*, and all the rest, which are so far removed from the firm land, that these beasts cannot swim from it to them, the Spaniards record, that none of these are found."*

The potrait painter, Mr. Smibert, who accompanied Dr. Berkeley, then Dean of *Derry*, and afterwards Bishop of *Cloyne*, from Italy to America in 1723, was employed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, while at Florence, to paint two or three Siberian Tartars, presented to the Duke by the Czar of Russia. This Mr. Smibert, upon his landing at *Narraganset Bay* with Dr. Berkeley, in-

* Brerewood's Enquiries, p. 117, 118.

stantly recognized the Indians here to be the same people as the Siberian Tartars whose pictures he had taken.*

The learned traveller Mr. John Bell of Anternomy makes the following observation. "From all the accounts I have heard and read of the natives of Canada, there is no nation in the world which they so much resemble as the Tongusians. The distance between them is not so great as is commonly imagined."

Great question, says Mr. Jefferson, has arisen whence came those aboriginal inhabitants of America. Discoveries, long ago made, were sufficient to show that a passage from Europe to America was always practicable, even to the imperfect navigation of ancient times. In going from Norway to Iceland, from Iceland to Greenland, from Greenland to Labrador, the first trajet is the widest; and this having been practised from the earliest times of which we have any account of that part of the earth, it is not difficult to suppose that the subsequent trajets may have been sometimes passed. Again the late discoveries by Captain Cook, coasting from Kamschatka to California, have proved that, if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow strait. So that from this side also, inhabitants may have passed into America; and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture, that the former are the descendants of the latter, or the latter of the former; excepting indeed the Esquimeaux, who, from the same circumstance of resemblance, and from the identity of language, must be derived from the Greenlanders, and these probably from some of the northern parts of the old continent."

Dr. Swinton in his learned contributions to *ancient universal history*, after having examined the theory by

* "The United States elevated to Glory and Honour." A Sermon preached before his excellency Jonathan Trumbull, Esq. L. L. D. &c. &c. By Ezra Stiles, D. D. L. L. D., President of Yale College, p. 16 and 17.

which the Phenicians are supposed to have been the first colony that peopled America, observes, "that, therefore the Americans, in general, were descended from some people, who inhabited a country not so far distant from them as Egypt and Phenicia, our readers will, as we apprehend, readily admit. Now, no country can be pitched upon so proper and convenient for this purpose as the north eastern part of Asia, particularly great Tartary, Siberia, and more especially the Peninsula of Kam-schatka. That probably was the tract through which many Tartarian colonies passed into America and peopled the most considerable part of the New World."

The most unequivocal mode, therefore, as we have already said, of throwing any satisfactory light on this obscure subject, is to compare the personal appearance, religion, and the manners, habits, and customs of Indians, with those of Asiatic nations; and when we find a striking similarity between them, we may fairly conclude that the North American Indians are connected with them, and that they are the descendants of those to whom they bear the greatest resemblance.

PERSONS, FEATURES, AND COLOUR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The North American Indians have a striking similarity in their external appearance. Their bodies though slight, are strong, tall, and straight, but this strength is rather suited to endure the exercise of the chase, than hard labour, by which they are soon consumed. In some nations it is not uncommon to see the middle stature; the smallest degree of deformity, however, is rarely seen among any of them. The strength of their bodies, the extraordinary suppleness of their limbs, and the height which they attain may fairly be attributed to liberty and

exercise to which the children are accustomed from their earliest youth.

There is also a conformation of features as well as person, which, more or less characterises them all. The face is round, and farther removed than that of any other people from an oval shape. Their cheek-bones are a little raised, for this peculiarity the men are more distinguished than the women. Their forehead is small : the extremity of the ears far from the face ; their lips thick ; their noses are generally broad, with wide nostrils ; their eyes are black, or of a chestnut colour, small, but capable of discerning objects at a great distance ; their hair is thick and strong, without any tendency to curl ; their ears large ; their legs well formed, and the feet small. They have little or no beards on the face, which is not a natural deficiency, as some travellers have asserted but an artificial deprivation, for they carefully eradicate the hair from every part of the body, except the head, and they confined that, in ancient times, to a tuft on the top.

One great peculiarity in the native Americans is their colour, and the identity of it throughout the whole extent of the continent, except the coasts of Labrador, as we have already mentioned. Their colour is that of copper ; a colour which, as has been frequently observed, is peculiar to the Americans. "They are all," says Chevalier Pinto, "of a copper colour, with some diversity of shade, not in proportion to their distance from the equator, but according to the degree of the elevation of the country in which they reside. Those who live in a high country are fairer than those in the marshy low lands on the coast." It is said, however, and it is probable enough, that two small tribes have been lately discovered in Mexico, who differ considerably from all the other Indian nations in colour and mode of living. We therefore, quote the following article from the *Western Democrat* :

"It is a fact not generally known, that there do exist in the far west at least two small tribes or bands of white

people. One of these bands is called Mawkeys. They reside in Mexico on the south-west side of the rocky mountains, and between 300 and 500 miles from *Santa Fe*, towards California, and in a valley which makes a deep notch into the mountain, surrounded by high and impassible ridges, and which can only be entered by a narrow pass from the south-west. They are represented by trappers and hunters of the west, known to the writer of this to be men of veracity, as an innocent and inoffensive people, who live by agriculture, while they also raise a great number of horses and mules, both of which are used by them for food. They cultivate maize, pumpkins, and beans in large quantities. These people are frequently depredated upon by their more warlike red neighbours, to whom they submit without resorting to deadly weapons in order to repel them. Not far distant from the Mawkeys, and in the same range of country, is another band of the same description, called Nabbehoes, a description of either of these tribes will answer for both. They have been described to the writer by two men in whose veracity the fullest confidence may be placed: they say the men are of the common stature, with light flaxen hair, light blue eyes, and that their skin is of the most delicate whiteness. One of my informants, who saw seven of these people at *Santa Fe* in 1830, in describing the Mawkeys says, 'they are as much whiter than I am whiter than the darkest Indian in the Creek nation,' and my informant was of as good a complexion as white men generally are. A trapper on one occasion, in a wandering excursion, arrived at a village of the Mawkeys. He was armed with a rifle, a pair of belt pistols, knife and tomahawk; all of which were new to them, and appeared to excite their wonder and surprise. After conversing some time by signs, he fired one of the pistols, when the whole group around him instantly fell to the ground in the utmost consternation. They entreated him not to hurt them, and showed in various ways that

they thought him a supernatural being. He saw vast number of horses and mules about the village."

Being fully convinced that America as well as the old continent had been peopled by different races, and at different times, we hesitate not a moment to believe that tribes of this description exist in the west; neither do we doubt but several more could be discovered who would exhibit a higher degree of civilization, than has been witnessed among the red Indians. Asia, no doubt, contributed at different periods to the peopling of America with tribes of different degrees of civilization. The Tartars, Siberians and Kamschadales, are of all the Asiatic nations with whom travellers are acquainted, those who bear the greatest resemblance to the North American Indians, not only in their manners and customs, but also in their features and complexion. The Tartars have always been known as a race whose disposition led them to rove and wander in quest of conquest and plunder. While the present Indians can be identified as the descendants of the Tartars or Siberians, and when it can be proved beyond a doubt that America was inhabited by a more civilized people than the present, it may fairly be conjectured that the original and more civilized inhabitants were exterminated by some great revolution, which had, very probably, been effected by a Tartar invasion, similar to that which under Gengis Khan devastated the Chinese empire, and to that also which overwhelmed the Roman empire. But as we shall hereafter have a more favourable opportunity of discussing this subject in its proper place, we shall now pass over into Asia, in order to show how far the persons, features, and complexion of some Asiatic tribes coincide with those of the North American Indians.

PERSONS, FEATURES, AND COMPLEXION OF THE
TONGUSI OF SIBERIA, IN ASIA.

"I Tongusi," says the learned Padre Santini, a native of Italy, and a missionary in Chinese Tartary and Siberia, "sono generalmente, alti, forti flessibili e ben stretti; corrono con tanta velocita, che li ho veduto sovente volte sopraggiungere i piu veloci animali della foresta. La corpulenza e la deformita di persona sono vizii, che si vedono rarissime volte fra questa gente, perche dalla loro gioventu si avvezzano alla caccia e alla guerra."

Here we are told by Santini, that the Tongusi are generally tall, athletic, and straight; that they run with such velocity that he frequently saw them overtake the swiftest animal in the forest. Corpulency and deformity of person, he says, are blemishes which are seldom seen among them, because from their youth they are trained to the chase and war.

In speaking of the Coriacks and Kamschadales, Santini gives us the following description:

"I Coriacki di Siberia, I Tongusi e i Kamschadali hanno, mi sembra, la medesima origine; poiche, sebbene le loro lingue non sono simili intieramente, nulladimeno hanno un legamento radicale, che e si chiara, che bisogna che tutte le tre siano stato le figlie della medesima madre. La somiglianza della figura del corpo e della fatezza del viso, e tanto evidente, che l'identita di stirpe non si puo dubitare, come si vedra adesso. Il viso e rotundo, le mascelle alzate, i labri grassi, gli occhi piccoli e neri, la fronte non e grande; l'orechi son grandi, i denti bianchi e i capelli son neri. Gli Indiani dell' America settentrionale, che aveva veduto a Quebec l'anno 1748 sono della stessa stirpe perche hanno il medesimo colore, viso e i loro costumi, lingua e religione sono assai somiglianti."

The Coriacks, Tongusi, and Kamschadales, says Santini, it seems to me, have had the same origin; for, al-

though their languages are not altogether the same, still their connexion is so radical that they must be mediately or immediately, the daughters of the same mother. The similarity of person and visage is so striking, that the identity of person cannot be doubted. Their faces are round, the cheek bones high, the lips thick, the eyes small and black, the forehead small, the ears large, the teeth white, and the hair black.

The Indians of North America, (the same author continues), whom I saw at Quebec in 1748, must be of the same origin as the Asiatic tribes I have now described: they have the same complexion and visage; and their customs, religion, and language are also very similar.

Of this resemblance in external appearance we are fully convinced; for, in 1826, two young princes of the Tongusi tribe were taken to Rome by two Jesuits, who had converted them to the Christian faith in their native country. Their complexion, we must acknowledge, was fairer than that of the Indians, but, in every other respect, there was a singular coincidence. The diligent antiquary, Count Rosetti, who travelled, some years since, in the United States, was so perfectly satisfied with their identity, that he published, on the arrival of the young princes at Rome, an able article for the Society of Antiquaries, proving the Asiatic origin of the North American Indians. To confirm his assertions, he brought before the Society of Antiquaries the two Asiatic princes and an Indian who had accompanied him from America to Italy. During this inquiry, some of the most literary men in Italy were present, and among them we observed two or three foreign ambassadors. The sameness of people was at once acknowledged by the society, not only on account of their similarity in external appearance, but the affinity of languages, and the agreement of manners, habits, and customs, as was satisfactorily proved from the researches of Count Rosetti, and the Jesuit missionaries who had arrived in Italy from Siberia in Asia.

PARTICULARITIES OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES.

Although it is generally allowed that all the dialects which are spoken in North America, are derived from the three primitive languages which we mentioned above, still it does not follow that these three are original, or of the first institution of languages. The discourse of the Indian is so marked with those figurative expressions, for which some languages spoken in the north-east parts of Asia are particularly noted. Upon this ground alone some persons stood forward to derive the origin of the North American Indians from Asia, and this clue should be sufficient without any other proof to satisfy the philosophic mind, in the absence of a surer guide. The *Huron* language has a copiousness, an energy, and a sublimity perhaps not to be found united in any of the finest languages that we know. It has frequently been asserted, that those, whose native tongue it is, are endowed with an elevation of soul, which agrees with the majesty of their language. Some have fancied they found in it some similitude with the Hebrew: others have said that it had the same origin as the Greek; but nothing could be more trifling than the proofs they bring forward. Gabriel Saghard imagined he had made wonderful discoveries in his vocabulary; James Cartier and Baron de la Hontan were equally enthusiastic in their researches. These three authors took at random some terms, some of which were Huron and others Algonquin, signifying quite different from what they asserted. They pretended from a similarity of sound in a few words, to have discovered a radical connexion between the Indian languages and the Hebrew.

The *Algonquin* language has not so much force as the *Huron*, but it has more sweetness and elegance, and may with great propriety be denominated the Italian of the western continent; for it abounds with vowels, which renders it soft, musical, and harmonious. Both

the *Algonquin* and the *Huron* have a richness of expression, a variety of turns, a propriety of terms, and a regularity which seldom prevails in some of the more cultivated languages of Europe.

In the *Huron* all is conjugated ; a certain device, which cannot be well explained, distinguishes the verbs, the nouns, the pronouns, the adverbs, &c. The simple verbs have a double conjugation, one absolute, and the other reciprocal : the third persons have the two genders, for there are but two in these languages ; that is to say, the noble and the ignoble gender. As to the number and tenses, they have the same differences, as the Greek and some languages spoken in the north-east of Asia ; for instance, to relate *travels*, they express themselves differently according as it was by *land* or *water*. The verbs active multiply as often as there are things which fall under action ; as the verb which signifies *to eat* varies as there are things to eat. The action is expressed differently in respect to any thing that has life, and an inanimate thing : thus, *to see a man*, and *to see a stone*, are two different verbs ; to make use of a thing that belongs to him who uses it, or to him to whom we speak, are also two different verbs.

It may be said, and it is certainly true, that these languages from their richness and variety are attended with considerable difficulty in learning them, and it is no less certain that their poverty and barrenness, on the other hand, render them equally so. When we speak of their poverty and barrenness, we must not be understood as alluding to the sterility of the languages ; for the richness or poverty of a language depends on the knowledge or ignorance of the people who speak it. The Indians, for instance, seldom gave names to things which they did not use, or which did not fall under their senses, so that when Europeans conversed with them on subjects with which they were unacquainted, they were naturally in want of terms to express their ideas. Even the refined languages of Greece and Rome, when we speak of modern inven-

tions and things which were not known in ancient times, are labouring under the same disadvantage ; still they are not to be pronounced as barren, for it is not to be expected that man is to give names to things which he neither saw nor heard. In speaking to an Indian in his savage state, concerning religious worship, Heaven and the Deity ; about virtues, vices, and the cultivation of the arts, or other subjects of our common conversation, nothing could be expected but confused ideas and such a vacuity in his language as would require circumlocutions in order to throw any information within the compass of his understanding. Such, then, is the barrenness of the Indian languages, but as far as they have been cultivated, they are found to be not only rich in expressions but full of harmony and melody. Travellers have differed in giving names to the three primitive languages which are spoken in North America ; they generally go, however, under the names of the *Sioux*, the *Huron* and the *Algonquin*. That of the Hurons is more copious and better cultivated than those spoken by the Algonquins and Sioux, by reason of their having attained a higher degree of civilization ; for the Hurons have always applied themselves, more than any other tribe, to the cultivation of the land. They have also extended themselves much less, which has produced two effects. In the first place, they are better settled, better lodged, and better fortified. Under these circumstances they could more easily cultivate the arts, and form fixed rules for their government.

These would inevitably be the means of supplying their language with terms which, otherwise, would never have been introduced. In the second place, they became more industrious, more dexterous in managing their affairs ; these improvements cannot be attributed but to a spirit of society, which they have preserved better than others. Notwithstanding the difference which evidently exists between these three primitive languages, it cannot be denied that a radical connexion exists, which is not

easily perceived but by those who are well versed in them.

Although we are fully satisfied from several other circumstances, as well as the affinity of languages, that the North American Indians are descended from the north-east parts of Asia, still we do not at all imagine that they are descendants of one and the same Asiatic tribe who spoke the same language. It may appear singular that there should exist such a dissimilarity in the languages which the north-east Asiatics carried with them to America; but the surprise will at once vanish when we consider that the north-east parts of Asia had been peopled by different races of men from different parts of Asia. The Highlanders of Scotland, it is well known, are of a different origin with their more southern neighbours; and their language, which is likewise radically different, they have preserved in its purity, notwithstanding their union by local situation and intermarriages. In every part of the new world where these Highlanders have made settlements, the Gaelic is spoken as purely almost as it came from the lips of Ossian; under similar circumstances, therefore, the Indians have been able to retain the languages of their respective progenitors. The same can be said of the Irish, Germans, and Dutch who have emigrated to America. It is not then to be wondered at, that there should exist among the Indians three primitive languages, which are very distantly connected, although they all came latterly from the north-east parts of Asia.

Here we may quote the following from the learned researches of Mr. Du Ponceau, who, in speaking of the Indian languages, says; "If I have shown it to be, at least, sufficiently probable, that *Polysynthetic* forms are the general characteristic of the American Indian languages, I need only refer to Mr. Heckewelder's correspondence, to prove that those forms, as exemplified by him in the Delaware, are such as I have described them; that they are rich, copious, expressive, and, particularly, that the

greatest order, method, and analogy reign through them. To endeavour to give better proof of this fact, than those which that learned gentleman has given, would be a waste of labour and time. Indeed from the view which he offers of the Lenni-Lenape idiom, it would rather appear to have been formed by philosophers in their closets, than by savages in the wilderness. If it should be asked how this can have happened, I can only answer, that I have been ordered to collect and ascertain facts, not to build theories. There remains a great deal yet to be ascertained, before we can venture to search into remote causes."

With regard to the *Polysynthetic* form or construction. the same author thus explains it.

"The *Polysynthetic* construction is that in which the greatest number of ideas are comprised in the least number of words. This is done principally in two ways. 1. By a mode of compounding locutions, which is not confined to joining words together, as in the Greek, or varying the inflection or termination of a radical word as in most European languages, but by interweaving together the most significant sounds or syllables of each single word so as to form a compound that will awaken in the mind at once all the ideas singly expressed by the words from which they are taken. 2. By an analagous combination of the various parts of speech, particularly by means of the verb, so that its various forms and inflections will express not only the principal action, but the greatest possible number of the moral ideas and physical objects connected with it, and will combine itself to the greatest extent with those conceptions which are the subject of other parts of speech, and in other languages required to be expressed by separate and distinct words. Such I take to be the general character of the Indian languages."

These, then, are the declarations of Mr. Du Ponceau concerning the Indian languages. 1st. That the American languages, in general, are rich in words and in grammatical forms, and that, in their complicated con-

struction, the greatest order, method, and regularity prevail. 2d. That these complicated forms, called by him *Polysynthetic*, appear to exist in all these languages from Greenland to Cape Horn. 3d. That these forms appear to differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the old hemisphere.

PARTICULARITIES OF THE ASIATIC LANGUAGES.

Santini, after collating the Indian language with those spoken by the Coriacks and Tongusi, gives us the following particularities of these Asiatic dialects.

“Le lingue che si parlano dai Tongusi e i Coriaki di Siberia, sono originalmente uscite dalla medesima fonte; perche, avendo studiato tutte le due, sono capace di vedere l' affinita; oltrequesto, ho osservato sovente volte che i Tongusi e Coriaki potevano parlare insieme senza alcuna interpretazione; e ciascheduno parlava nella lingua sua. Queste lingue hanno due generi, uno che si applica all' animante, e un altro all' inanimato. I verbi sono senza numero, e si aumentano secondo la varietà delle cose che si fanno e si vedono. Per esempio, un Coriako non si serve del medesimo verbo, quando vuol dire che ha veduto un uccello e un albero. Nella medesima maniera, si varia il verbo, quando dice, che ha bevuto dell' acqua o del vino. Il medesimo idioma si può vedere nelle lingue che parlano gli Indiani Americani. Padre Chiratasta, che era restato due anni in Kamschatka, ha detto e non si può dubitare le sue parole, che quelli dall' altra parte del stretto di Beering, comprendevano la lingua dei Kamschadali, e che si vedevano frequentemente passare e ripassare da un continente all' altro.”*

The languages which are spoken by the Tongusi and

* Libro secondo, cap. settimo.

Coriaks of Siberia, says Santini, have originally sprung from the same fountain. Having studied them both, the affinity appears to me to be very evident. Besides, I frequently observed the Tongusi and the Coriaks conversing together, while each used that language which was spoken in his own country. They could not, certainly, understand each other easily, from the repetitions, gestures, and circumlocutions which I observed during their conversation. Both languages have two genders: the one is called the noble, and is applied to animate things; and the other the ignoble, of which gender are inanimate things. The verbs are without number, and are increased according to the variety and quality of the action. For example, a Coriak does not use the same verb, when he says he saw a bird or a tree. In the same manner the Coriaks alter their verb, when they say they drank wine or water. The same idiom, continues Santini, is peculiar to some languages which are spoken by the North American Indians. Father Chiaratesta, who remained two years in Kamschatka, has said, and his word should not be doubted, that those on the American side of the Straits of Beering understood the language of the Kamschadales, and were seen frequently to pass and repass from the one continent to the other.

According to this author, the language of the Kamschadales is not much different from that spoken on the other side of Beering's straits. He alludes to the landing of Cæsar in Britain from Gaul, where the passage between Calais and Dover is as wide as that of Beering's straits in one place, and much more difficult to cross, by reason of the cluster of islands that is interspersed in this narrow channel between Asia and America. As Cæsar found the ancient Britons to resemble, in a most striking manner, the Gauls whom he had left behind him on the continent, in their dress, language and mode of fighting, so Chiaratesta discovered the Indians of America to be equally similar to the Kamschadales of Asia, in language and dress. "*Eadem lingua*," he says, "*fere utebantur*

atque eodem modo fere vestiti, quamobrem dubitari non potest quin propinquitatibus affinitatibusque conjuncti sint."* From this assertion it would appear, that Chiaratesta feels convinced of the sameness of people, as he observed them use almost the same language, and dress almost in the same manner. These are his very words, and he hesitates not a moment to conclude the Asiatic origin of the North American Indians, especially of those whom he met on crossing the Straits of Beering.

We are assured by all those travellers who made any inquiries after the nature and construction of the languages or dialects spoken in the regions of the north-east of Asia, that they partake, in an eminent degree, of the idiom of American languages. A most singular coincidence in the formation of verbs in the Tongusian language is noticed by Abernethy. Nothing can indicate more clearly or more decidedly the connexion of the Indian and Asiatic dialects than this circumstance. To *kill* a deer and to *kill* a bear is expressed by the Tongusi with two different verbs. To *eat* flesh and to *eat* fish, just in the same manner as the American languages vary, is likewise expressed by two different verbs. This circumstance alone is sufficient to prove their similarity.

We shall now offer the reader a comparative table of the Asiatic and Indian languages, taken chiefly from Dr. Barton, Abernethy, and Santini, where the identity of languages is evident at first sight.

* Chiaratesta, De terra incognita, p. 96.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE INDIAN AND ASIATIC
LANGUAGES.

INDIAN.

GOD.

Lenni-Lennape, or Delawares, *Kitschimanitto*. Kamschadales,
[*Kotcham* and *Kitchi Manoa*.
Algonquins and Chippewas, *Kitchi-manilton*, and *Manitola*.
Onondagas, &c., *Niah*. Semoyads, *noob* and *niob*.

HEAVEN.

Kikkapoos, *Kishek*. Tartars, *Koek*.
Narragansets, *Keeshuk*. Semoyads, *Koosock*.

FATHER.

Lenni-Lennape, *Nooch*. Semoyads, *Niysee*, *neeze*.
Chippewas, *noosach*, *noosah*. Kamschadales, *nooseck*.
Pottawatameh, *noosah*.
Miamis, *nonsah*, *nosah*.

Algonquins, *nousce*.
Naudowessies, *otah*, *ottah*.
Darien Indians, *tautch*.
Poconchi, *tat*.
Caraibees, *baba*.
Olonetzi, or Fins, *tauto*.
Wellachians, *tat*.
Tartars on the Jenisea, *baba*.

MOTHER.

Lenni-Lennape, *Gahowees*.
Pottawatameh, *nanna*.
Indians of Pennsylvania, } *anna*.
according to W. Penn. }
Darien Indians, *nannah*.
Morduani, *dwass*.
Tartars of Casan, *ana*, *anawee*.
Tartars of Orenburg, } *anna*.
Siberia, }
Tartars near Tobolsk, *ana*.
Tooshetti, *nana*.

SON.

Indians of Penobscot, St. }
Johns, and Naragan- } *nannan*.
sets, }

Semoyads, *nioma*.
Kamasthini, *neem*.
Tongusi, *nioman*.

BROTHER.

Pottawatameh, *esah*.
Miamis, *sheemah*.
Tchionski, *sezoes*.
Kamschadales, *sezomeh*.

HUSBAND.

Narragansets, *wasick*. Semoyads, *waesacko*.

WIFE.

Miamis, *neerveewah*.
Pottawatameh, *neowah*.
Tchoukti, *neeweeagan*.
Semoyads, *neco*.

INDIAN.

CHILD.

ASIATIC.

Lenni-Lennape, *nitsch, nitschaan.*
 Chippewas, *bobeloshin.*
 Piankashaws, *pappooz.*
 Narragansets, *pappoos.*

Semoyads, *nitschoo.*
 Suanetti, *bahsch.*

Kottowi, *poop.*

NOSE.

Algonkins, *yaka.*
 Acadians, *chikon.*
 Indians of Penobscot and St. Johns, *keetor.*

Koriaks, *keka.*
 Kamschadales, *kaikan.*
 Tongusi, *kaiton.*

EYES.

Chilese, *ne.*

Tcherkessi, *ne.*

FOREHEAD.

Indians of Pennsylvania, *hakals.*

Tooshetti, *haka.*

HAIR.

Chippewas, *lissis, lissey.*
 Tuskaroras, *woosara.*

Koriaks, *lissek.*
 Ostiaks, *warras.*

MOUTH.

Pottawattameh, *indown.*
 Miamis, *endonnee.*

Koriaks, *andoon.*
 Karassini, *ende.*

HAND.

Lenni-Lennape, *nahk.*
 Indians of Pennsylvania, *nach.*

Akashini, *nak.*
 Tongusi, *neakka and naila.*

FLESH.

Shawnees, *wiothe.*
 Chippewas, *weas.*

Ostiaks, *wede, wotee.*
 Koriaks, *weeri.*

BLOOD.

Macicanni, *pucakan.*
 Chilese, *moolbuon.*
 Brasilians, *tagui.*

Tartars, *kagan.*
 Koriaks, *moolyomool.*
 Dugorri, *toog.*

HEART.

Lenni-Lennape, *ktee.*
 Chippewas, *michewah.*

Taweeguini, *keef.*
 Tongusi, *michewan.*

SUN.

Chippewas, *keris, kischis.*
 Machicanni, *keesogh.*
 Indians of Penobscot and St. Johns, *keesooos.*
 Indians of New England, *kerus.*
 Chikash, *hascha.*
 Algonkins, *kisis, keris.*

Koriaks, *keeschis.*
 Kamschadales, *keosan.*
 Tartars, *koosach.*
 Coreans, *kaesee.*

INDIAN.

MOON.

Some Indians of North Carolina, *keshuse*.
 Indians of Pennsylvania, *keshow*.
 New Englanders, *kerus*.
 Miamis, *kelsoa*.
 Carabias, *noowm*.
 Naudowessies, *owesh*.

ASIATIC.

Tongusi, *kashoe*.

Kamschadales, *koolsoohah*.
 Koriaks, *noowee*.
 Tartars, *oee*, *aee*.

STAR.

Lenni-Lennape, *alank*.
 Algonkins, *alan*, *alank*.
 Miamis, *alanqua*.
 Shawnees, *alagua*.

Kottowi, *alagan*.
 Assani, *alak*.
 Koriaks, *agalan*.
 Kamschadales, *laekwah*.

RAIN.

Chippewas, *kimmawan*.
 Shawnees, *kimmewan*.
 Algonkins, *kimiowan*.

Lesghis, *kema*.
 Kamschadales, *kemasee*.
 Koriaks, *komoseh*.

FIRE.

Lenni-Lennape, *tudew*.
 Muskoghe, *toatka*.
 Brasilians, *tata*.

Semoyads, *tua*.
 Vogouliichi, *taot*.
 Koriaks, *tatoeh*.

WOOD.

Chippewas, *mittie*.
 Muskoghe, *etoh*.
 Cherakee, *attoh*.

Semoyads, *meets*.
 Koriaks, *oottoo*.
 Tartars, *otook*.

DOG.

Lenni-Lennape, *me-kanne*.
 Cherakee, *keera*.
 Darien Indians, *tri*.

Semoyads, *kannak*.
 Tchiochonski, *koera*.
 Pumyocolli, *izeh*.

THERE.

Lenni-Lennape, *icka*.
 Lenni-Lennape has also, *talli*.
 Chippewas, *woity*.

Kartalini, *ecka*, *eck*.
 Tongusi, *talai*.
 Koriaks, *wootah*.

The first personal pronoun I, (ego in Latin.)

Lenni-Lennape, *ni*.
 Chippewas, *nee*.
 Miamis, *nee*.
 Wyandots, *dee*.
 Maudowessies, *meoh*.
 Indians of Penobscot & St. Johns, *neah*.

Kamschadales, *neah*.
 Koriaks, *neah*.
 Tongutani, *nas*.
 Lesghis, *dee*.
 Tchonski, *ma*.
 Motouri, *ne*.

These sources of information are certainly worthy of credit ; for they are distinguished as men of the highest veracity, as well as profound judgment and acute imagination. It is likewise generally known that no person can contract a greater intimacy with barbarous nations, than missionaries, who, by the dignity of their sacred office, the affability of their manners, and their brotherly counsel, have always succeeded in endearing themselves to the rudest of nations. We have the testimony of other travellers, to corroborate the assertions of the learned Santini and Chiaratesta, while they endeavour to prove a similarity between the Indian languages and those of the Tongusi and Coriaks. Hennepin, who travelled among the Indians of North America, says, that the Huron language partakes in a high degree of the idiom of Asiatic tongues, that it abounds with those figurative expressions, sublimity of thought and sweetness, which are so characteristic of some Asiatic languages. Abernethy collated two hundred Indian words with the Coriack language, and the identity is so evident that every person who is acquainted with the derivation and formation of languages, will at once acknowledge the Asiatic origin of the Indian languages.

RELIGION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

Among the most savage nations in the world, the opinion prevails, that there are beings superior to themselves, who manage by their power and wisdom, the affairs of this world. The religion of the Indians is very simple, for it consists of few doctrines and fewer ceremonies. The Supreme Deity, they call the Great Spirit, whose power they believe to be infinite ; to him they ascribe their victories in the field of battle and their success in the chase. They believe also in an inferior Spirit whom they consider as a malevolent being and

the author of all their misfortunes. They more frequently adore him, that he may remove the evils by which they are oppressed ; still they are sometimes prompted by gratitude to perform an act of devotion to the Great Spirit, that he may continue his favours. They believe in a future state, where they are to enjoy in a more complete manner those pleasures in which they have here delighted ; a mild climate, a fertile soil, abounding with game, whose flesh never cloy the appetite, nor surfeits by excess ; the intercourse of all their friends and relations, in short, all their temporal enjoyments unmixed with any of their troubles.

The following concise account of the religion of the Indians as given by Jarvis, according to Charlevoix may not perhaps be unworthy of attention.

" But, besides the Supreme Being, they believe in an infinite number of subaltern spirits, who are the objects of worship. These they divide into good and bad. The good spirits are called by the Hurons, *Ockis*, by the Algonquins, *Manitous*. They suppose them to be the guardians of men, and that each has his tutelary Deity. In fact, every thing in nature has its spirit, though all have not the same rank nor the same influence. The animals they hunt have their spirits. If they do not understand any thing, they immediately say, *it is a spirit*. If any man performs a remarkable exploit, his tutelary deity is supposed to be of more than ordinary power.

" It is remarkable, however, that these tutelary deities are not supposed to take men under their protection till something has been done to merit their favour. A parent who wishes to obtain a guardian spirit for his child, first blackens his face, and then causes him to fast for several days. During this time it is expected that the spirit will reveal himself in a dream ; and on this account, the child is anxiously examined every morning with regard to the visions of the preceding night. Whatever the child happens to dream of most frequently, even if it happens to be the head of a bird, the foot of an animal, or any thing of

the most worthless nature, becomes the symbol or figure under which the *Okki* reveals himself. With this figure, in the conceptions of his votary, the spirit becomes identified; the image is preserved with the greatest care—is the constant companion on all great important occasions, and the constant object of consultation and worship.”*

As soon as a child is informed what is the nature or form of his protecting deity, he is carefully instructed in the obligations he is under to do him homage—to follow his advice communicated in dreams—to deserve his favours—to confide implicitly in his care—and to dread the consequences of his displeasure. For this reason, when the Huron or the Iroquois goes to battle, or to the chase, the image of his *Okki* is as carefully carried with him as his arms. At night each one places his guardian idol on the palisades surrounding the camp, with the face turned from the quarter to which the warriors, or hunters, are about to march. He then prays to it for an hour, as he does also in the morning before he continues his course. This homage performed, he lies down to rest, and sleeps in tranquility, fully persuaded that his spirit will assume the whole duty of keeping guard, and that he has nothing to fear for that day.

L'Abbe Perrin tells us that they have also their priests, who are similar to the Druids of the ancients. These pretend to have a more intimate correspondence with the Deity than any other mortal. They are, therefore, held in the highest estimation, because they can either conciliate the favour of the Great Spirit, or avert the wrath of the malevolent or inferior Deity. The Abbe observes, that as the Indians seldom engage in the solemnities of religion, the priesthood is not a lucrative profession; by professing, however, the gift of prophecy and the science of physic, they are seldom reduced to a state of indigence or want. Whenever the cures, which they

* Charlevoix, Journal, &c. let. xxiv. p. 345-6.

prescribe as physicians, prove unsuccessful, they have the policy to ascribe this failure to the Evil Spirit, whose wrath, they say, is implacable from some motives which they are not allowed to divulge.

The only valuable part of their skill consists in their knowledge of simples, chiefly salubrious herbs, with which their country abounds. We are told by medical men who stand high in their profession, that these Indian herbists have, to their own knowledge, cured diseases of which they despaired. In administering these medicines, the Indians are said to use many ceremonies which are ridiculous, and sufficiently mysterious to acquire fame and veneration among the superstitious, especially if the patient recover, but if he die, the Evil Spirit is blamed.

The offices of priest, physician, and prophet or conjurer are generally hereditary. This belief is inculcated by those who profess these sciences; for they impose on the credulity of the people, by telling them, that their families have been particularly pointed out by the Great Spirit, who threatens vengeance against those who might intrude on professions so sacred.

It has seldom or never been observed by travellers, that the Indians offered human sacrifices to either of the deities. It has, however, been frequently asserted, that when an offering was made, it consisted generally of a dog; and this took place at no other time, except in the times of calamity, scarcity, and sickness. Having procured a suitable animal, generally a dog, they tie his mouth, without killing him, and singe him at the fire. They then affix him to a pole with a bundle of beaver skins. When the pole is erected, the priest approaches, addresses the Spirit, deprecates his wrath, and implores a mitigation of their troubles. The tribe at the conclusion of his speech shout their concurrence. They then leave the dog and the pole, never touching them till they rot and fall. This ridiculous mode of offering a sacrifice was witnessed on many occasions among the Hurons by Hennepin, Perrin, and several other travellers.

The Indians have their *God of war* also, but this being is no other than the *Great Spirit*, to whom we have already alluded, and who is particularly invoked in their war songs. The Hurons call him *Areskoui*, and the Iroquois call him *Agreskoui*. How he is styled in the Algonquin, we have not been able to ascertain. But it is somewhat strange, that *Ares* in the Greek language is *Mars*, or the God of war; from this it would appear that *Ares* in Greek is the root whence *Areskoui* of the Hurons, and *Agreskoui* of the Iroquois must have been derived. *Although we are not warranted from this similarity alone to pronounce an affinity between the Greek and Indian languages, still it appears probable enough that the Greek and Indian terms for the *God of war* had one common origin, if we allow that the early progenitors of the Greeks and Indians might have been intimately allied at some unknown remote period, previous to the establishment of colonies in the Grecian isles, and long before the arrival of any Asiatic tribe on the continent of America. If this opinion be well founded, and we do not see how it could be doubted, whatever alterations these languages may have undergone in the course of ages, by the multiplication of ideas, and consequently of words, or by the revolutions which the languages of civilized nations must undergo, it would be very unjust to deny the probability of some affinity between the Greek, Hebrew, and Indian language. After the dispersion of Babel, for instance, they might have set off together in quest of settlements. Notwithstanding this probability, we are far from believing that the Indians are consanguineously related to those Greeks, whose language rose into a fabric of the most ex-

* Charlevoix, Journal, p. 344. Il paroît que dans ces chansons (de guerre) on invoque le Dieu de la guerre que les Hurons appellent *Areskoui*, et les Iroquois *Agreskoui*. Je ne sais pas quel nom on lui donne dans les langues Algonquines. Mais n'est il pas un peu étonnant que dans le mot Grec *Ares* qui est le *Mars*, et le Dieu de la guerre dans tous les pays, ou l'on a suivi la Théologie d'Homère, on trouve la racine d'où semblent dériver plusieurs termes de la langue Huronne et Iroquoise qui ont rapport à la guerre ?

quisite and astonishing art, or to any of the tribes of Israel whose language was the Hebrew. Let us now, however, return to the Indian *God of war*. Before the battle and in the height of the engagement, his name is the *war cry*; upon the march also they often repeat it, by way of encouragement to each other, and to implore his assistance. L'Abbe Perrin says, that before an Indian engagement, the warriors raise a most hideous yell, with which they address their *God of battles*, looking at the same time upwards, as if in the greatest solicitude to behold his mightiness in the heavens.

L'Abbe de la Fontaine says, that when they are afraid of being conquered in battle, they send their supplications also to an Evil Spirit, that he may be pleased to prevent their utter destruction; this they do with the greatest humility and submission, accompanied with resolutions and promises never to incur his wrath for the time to come. De la Fontaine admires and eulogizes the sublime language which they make use of on these solemn occasions: he compares their poetical and martial ideas to the lofty strains of Ossian, the famous bard of the ancient Celts.

THE RELIGION OF THE TONGUSI, CORIAKS, AND KAMSCHADALES.

The most barbarous nations in the world believe in the existence of a being who is superior to themselves. Nature has never failed to indicate to the human mind, the existence of some Deity, who presides over the human race. Although man sees not his superior, yet the various revolutions which he sees take place around him inculcate the idea that there exists a Sovereign Lord, at whose control the world revolves.

The Mahometans, who borrowed their religious notions from the Jews and Christians, pretend that they are the

great supporters of the doctrine of the unity of the Deity. Under a pretence of improvement, they impeach both the Jew and Christian with a plurality of Deities. But it is well known, that the Jews and Christians make the unity of the Deity a fundamental doctrine of their religion. From these three sects, however, the doctrine of the unity of the Deity has been imparted to almost every nation and tribe with whom we are acquainted. We do not, however, mean to say, that they have been solely the means of propagating this doctrine, for we are no less certain, that several nations with whom we are utterly unacquainted and who never, perhaps, heard of Revelation, entertain ideas of one Supreme Deity, with many inferior agents, similar to each other. Among those rude nations, the notion of a Supreme Being appear to have arisen from the force of human reason: the idea of his numerous inferior ministers seems to have originated in the imbecility of the human imagination. Notwithstanding this general belief of the unity of the Deity, which prevails almost every where, however rude the nation may be, every country has its own peculiarities in religion, as well as in their language and modes of living.

In no part of Asia has the fancy multiplied more inferior Spirits, than in Hindostan. The spiritual agents of the Deity are there innumerable, and each of them is represented under different aspects; but to enumerate the whole would be impossible and superfluous on the present occasion.

From the researches of the most veracious travellers in Asia, we are informed, that of all the Asiatic nations whose religious tenets they could ascertain with any accuracy, the Tongusi, Coriaks, and Kamschadales resemble most the North American Indians, in their ideas concerning the Deity. "The Tongusi," says Abernethy, "believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, according to whose will they shall either conquer or die. They call him the *God of hosts*, because on him, they imagine, the fate of their warlike expeditions depend. They worship

likewise an *infernal Demon*, whose attributes are wrath and vengeance; while they invoke him, they are influenced solely by fear, lest he may afflict or torment them, for they believe that from him all their calamities and misfortunes proceed. As to a future state, they are as charitable as the *Universalist*, for they cannot bear to hear of a future state of torments and damnation. On the other hand, they imagine that they are to enjoy all the pleasures after which they aspired in this world. They have their priests, prophets, and physicians: and their sacrifices consist generally of those brute animals which they consider the greatest favourites of the Evil Spirit, for they seldom supplicate the *Great Spirit*, except before battle, as they deem him a benevolent Deity, who is disposed to favour, rather than torment them."

The Coriaks have a God of war, whose aspect they imagine to be fierce and sour, while terror is in his looks as well as in his dress. This *Mars* of the Romans, and the *Ares* of the Greeks, they call *Arioski*, a name which not only resembles the *Ares* of the Greeks, but is almost the very same as the *Areskoui* of the Hurons of America, an appellation which they apply to the same martial Deity. It appears rather singular that the same term for the *God of war* should be found in the Coriak of Siberia, the Greek and the Huron languages of America. We cannot, however, account for this identity of terms, more reasonably than we have already done. The Greeks called him *Ares*, either from the destruction and slaughter which he caused; or from the silence which is kept in war, where actions, not words, are necessary. This term may, very probably, have been derived from the Greek verb *airein*, to take away, or *anairein*, to kill. But from whatever words this name is derived, it is certain that those famous names, *Areopagus* and *Areopagita*, are derived from *Ares*. The *Areopagus*, that is, the "hill," or "mountain" of Mars, was a place at Athens, according to the Greek mythology, in which Mars being accused of murder, &c., was forced to defend himself before

twelve gods, and was acquitted by six voices; from which time that place became a court wherein were tried capital causes and the things belonging to religion.

The Kamschadales, according to Santini, coincide with the Coriaks and Tongusi, almost in every point of religion, except the offering of sacrifices. They believe in a Supreme and benevolent Being, whose sole care it is to watch over their interests, provided they do not incur the displeasure of the Evil Spirit, who is always disposed to punish them when they offend him.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

It has always been observed that all the various tribes have a close resemblance in their dress; that of the North American Indians in their original state, consists entirely of furs and hides; one piece is fastened round the waist, which reaches the middle of the thigh, and another larger piece is thrown over the shoulders. Their stockings are of skins, fitted to the shape of the leg; the seams are ornamented with porcupines' quills; their shoes are of the skin of the deer, elk, or buffalo, dressed for the most part with the hair on; they are made to fasten about the ankles, where they have ornaments of brass or tin, about an inch long, hung by thongs. The women are all covered from the knees upwards. Their shifts cover their body, but not the arms. Their petticoats reach from the waist to the knees; and both are of leather. Their shoes and stockings are not different from those of the men. Those men who wish to appear gay, pluck the hair from their heads, except a round spot of about two inches diameter on the crown of the head; on this are fastened plumes of feathers with quills of ivory or silver. The peculiar ornaments of this part are the distinguishing marks of the different nations. They some-

times paint their faces black, but oftener red ; they bore their noses and slit their ears, and in both they wear various ornaments. The higher ranks of women dress their hair sometimes with silver in a peculiar manner ; they sometimes paint it. They have generally a large spot of paint near the ear, on each side of the head, and not unfrequently a small spot on the brow. The Indians, it is true, have made several improvements in their dresses, since they commenced to receive European commodities. The picture, however, which we have given, is not so perfect an image of the Indians as the following portrait by the Bishop of Meaux :

"The colours with they paint their faces, and the grease with which they rub all their bodies, produce the same advantages, and, as they fancy, give them the same good appearance as pricking, of which we shall speak hereafter. The warriors paint themselves when they take the field, to intimidate their enemies, perhaps also to hide their fear, for we must not think that they are all exempt from it. The young people do it to conceal an air of youth, or a paleness remaining after some distemper, which may, they are apprehensive, be taken for the want of courage : they do it also, no doubt, to make them look handsome, but on this occasion the colours are more lively and more varied. It is said that they paint the prisoners who are going to die, and for what purpose we have not been informed ; it has been thought, however, by some, that it is to adorn the victim, who is to be sacrificed to the God of war. The dead are also painted, in order, no doubt, to hide the paleness of death which disfigures them, for they are at the same time dressed in their finest robes to meet the Great Spirit, with whom they are to live for ever.

"The colours which they use on these occasions are the same they employ to dye skins, and they make them from certain earths and barks of trees. They are not very lively, still they are not easily worn out. The men add to this ornament the down of swans or other birds, which

they strew on their hair, after it has been greased, like powder. They add to this feathers of all colours and bunches of hair of divers animals, all placed in an odd manner. The placing of the hair, sometimes standing up like bristles on one side, and flattened on the other, or dressed in a thousand different ways pendants; in their ears and sometimes in their nostrils; a great shell of porcelain hanging about their neck, or in their breast; some crowns made of the plume of scarce birds, the claws, the feet, or heads of birds of prey, little horns of roebucks, and innumerable other things constitute their finery.

"The men, we see, take little pains to adorn any other part of the body but their heads, which is just the reverse with the women, for they scarcely wear any thing on it. They are certainly fond of their hair, and they would consider themselves disgraced if any part of it was cut off. To preserve their hair they grease it often and powder it with the dust of spruce bark, and sometimes with vermilion; then they wrap it up in the skin of an eel or serpent, in the fashion of whiskers which hang down to their waist. As to their faces, they are satisfied with tracing some lines on them with vermilion or other colours.

"Their nostrils are never bored, and it is only among some nations that they bore their ears; then they wear in them, pendants as do also the men, made of beads of porcelain. When they are dressed in all their finery, they have robes painted with all sorts of figures, with little collars of porcelain, set on without any order or symmetry, with a kind of border tolerably worked with porcupines' hair, which they paint also with various colours. They adorn in the same manner the cradles of their children and they load them with all sorts of trinkets; these cradles are made of light wood, and have at the upper end one or two semicircles of cedar, that they may cover them without touching the head of the child.

"Many men make various figures all over their bod-

ies, by pricking themselves, others only in some parts. They do not do this merely for ornament, for they find also, as it is said, great advantages by this custom. It serves greatly to defend them from the cold, renders them less sensible of the other injuries of the air, and frees them from the persecution of the gnats. But it is only in countries possessed by the English, especially in Virginia, that the custom of pricking themselves all over the body, is very common. In *New France* the greater part are satisfied with some figures of birds, serpents, or other animals, and even of leaves, and such like figures, without order or symmetry, but according to every one's fancy, often in the face, and sometimes even on the eyelids. Many women are marked in the parts of the face that answer to the jaw-bones, to prevent the tooth-ache.

"This operation is not painful in itself. It is performed in this manner: they begin by tracing on the skin, drawn very tight, the figure they intend to make; then they prick little holes close together with the fins of a fish, or with needles, all over these traces, so as to draw blood. Then they rub them with charcoal dust, and other colours, well ground and powdered. These powders sink into the skin, and the colours are never effaced; but soon after the skin swells, and forms a kind of scab, accompanied with inflammation. It commonly excites a fever; and if the weather is too hot, or the operation has been carried too far, there is a hazard of life."

These are the observations of the Bishop of Meaux who travelled in North America, at the request of the Queen of France.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS OF THE TONGUSI, CORIAKS AND KAMSCHADALES.

'The Tongusi, Coriaks, Kamschadales, and other tribes in the north-east parts of Asia," says Abernethy, "are

differently attired from what they were a century ago. Like every other rude nation in their original state, they covered themselves with furs and hides like the shepherds of Spain and Italy; the upper garment consisted of one piece, with a hood and sleeves; it bears also some resemblance to the dress of Capuchin monks, though not so long, for it reaches not farther than the knee. From the knees downward, they are covered with leggins of deer or buffalo skin; their shoes also are made of the same. These robes were formerly dressed with the hair on, but the Tonguai especially, and the Coriaks, have made themselves so well acquainted with the art of tanning, that hair is not seen in any part of their dress, except the hood, the neck, and the cuffs of the sleeves of the upper garment. The tanned covering is generally painted with considerable taste. The figures represent those animals which have been chosen by each tribe as their distinguishing marks. In the summer season, they wear a kind of petticoat round the waist which comes down to the knees; it is made of coarse linen or cotton, which they manufacture themselves. At this time they paint their bodies with a variety of colours. The process of thus adorning themselves, consists of pricking those parts of the body which are not covered, and rubbing them over with different colours.

"The warriors paint their faces that they may appear more warlike. Others who are not engaged in hostilities do the same, because, I suppose, they imagine they look more handsome.

"They take great pains to dress their hair, which is generally long and oily, by reason of being smeared with grease. The pendants in their ears and nostrils are usually shells, which are painted on one side with a red and on the other with a blue colour; but they never consider themselves in their full uniform without a crown made of the plumage of a bird called the *rotoo*. Their women may be said to follow the same practices, although they pay very little attention to the hair."

"The inhabitants of Kamschatka," the same author continues, "have preserved their ancient dress better than any of their neighbouring tribes, because, although they are tributary to the Russian empire, they are farther removed from civilized society. Without alluding particularly to their dress, I have only to say, that they were anciently clad in the same manner, as the Coriaks and Tongusi, notwithstanding the difference which has been effected by the novelty of the fashions of modern times."

Santini says almost the same: "Quanto all' abito dei Tongusi, eglino e tutte le altre nazioni barbare hanno quasi il medesimo vestito, che consiste delle pelli di bestie fiere. Quest' abito e semplicemente accomodato al corpo, o adornato con ornamenti secondo il grado di civilizzazione fra quella gente. I Tongusi andavano, una volta, vestiti in pelli; depingevano il corpo e la faccia con differenti colori. Pertuggiavano il naso e gli orecchii, dove si impiccavano dei nichii coloriti. Hanno una corona fatta delle piume dei piu belli e rari uccelli, specialmente i pavoni. Ogni parte del loro vestito era abellato colle penne del porco spinoso. Le loro scarpe per l'inverno sono due piedi di lunghezza: son fatte per camminare sulla neve; la loro figura e ovale: con questo fanno lungi viaggi; sono leggieri perche il suolo di queste scarpe e composto d' una rete di cordicelle che son fatte della pelle di qualche animale."

Santini tells us here that the dress of every barbarous nation, as well as that of the Tongusi, is generally made of the skins of wild beasts. This dress is simply fitted to the form and shape of the body, or it is adorned with various ornaments according to the degree of civilization which these nations have arrived at. The Tongusi in their original state of barbarity were dressed in skins; they painted their bodies and faces with various colours; they bored their noses and ears whence hang coloured shells. For their head covering they had crowns made of the skin of a young deer, ornamented with the plumage of rare birds, especially the peacock. Every part

of their dress was embellished with coloured porcupine quills : they had shoes particularly suited for the winter, in order to traverse the snowy plains more easily ; their length was about two feet. From the lightness and structure of these shoes they were able to perform long journies. The soles consisted of a net made of strings of a raw hide.

The Asiatic snow shoes are to be seen in the museum of St. Ignatius's college at Rome ; for Santini took several pair of them with him from Siberia. La Perouse and Lisseps found the snow shoe in Tartary. Count Buonaventura observes how serviceable they are to the Siberians. Rosetti has a pair of them in his collection of antiquities ; these he found among the Hurons of North America. Rosetti compared his Indian dress, in which he appeared once at a masquerade ball at Rome, with the dresses of the two Tongusian princes, the converts of Santini, and the resemblance was striking.

Santini, in speaking of the shirts which are introduced in the modern dress of the Tongusi, makes the following observation :

" Ho sempre osservato, che i Tongusi, almeno la maggior parte degli uomini, hanno due camicie nell' abito moderno, una che sta sempre presso alla pelle, e un' altra copre il primo vestimento. La ragione di questo costume non conosco, nulladimeno alcuni mi hanno detto che era originato d' un motivo di vanità."

According to Santini, the Tongusi, in their modern dress, wear two shirts, one next their skin and another over their waistcoat. How this custom originated he could not ascertain ; but he says he was told by some that they did it through pride or vanity.

Those who are acquainted with the manners, habits and customs of the North American Indians, must be aware of their attachment also to wear a shirt over their waistcoat.

MARRIAGE AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

None of the North American tribes, however rude, were unacquainted with the institution of marriage. They generally are contented with one wife, they sometimes take two, and seldom more than three. The women are under the direction of their fathers in the choice of a husband, and very seldom express a predilection for any particular person. Their courtship is short and simple. The lover makes a present, generally of game, to the head of that family to which belongs the woman he fancies. Her guardian's approbation being obtained, an approbation which, if the suitor is an expert hunter, is seldom refused, he next makes a present to the woman, and her acceptance of this signifies her consent. The contract is immediately made, and the match concluded. As soon as he chooses he is admitted to cohabitation; but the time of the consummation is always a secret to every one but themselves. All this is transacted without ceremony, without even a feast. The husband generally carries his wife among his own relations, where he either returns to the tent which he formerly inhabited, or constructs a new one for their own use. They sometimes, but seldom, remain with the wife's relations. When the wife is removed, if the game be plentiful, he gives an entertainment to her relations.

These contracts are binding no longer than both parties are willing. If they do not agree they separate; the woman returns to her relations, and if they have any children, she takes them along with her; but after they have children, a separation very seldom takes place. If a woman be guilty of adultery, and her husband be unwilling to divorce her, he cuts her hair which is the highest female disgrace.

On the woman is devolved every domestic charge. She erects the tent, procures wood for the fire, manages the agricultural affairs, dresses the provisions, catches fish,

and makes traps for small animals. The husband only employs himself in the chase.

When a woman is with child, she works at her ordinary occupations, convinced that work is advantageous both for herself and child; her labour is easy, and she may be seen on the day after her delivery with her child at her back, avoiding none of her former employments. They suckle their children till they are at least two years of age. Their cradle was anciently a board, to which they laced their children, after having wrapped them in furs, to preserve them in heat. This is set down in a corner, or hung up in the tent, and without loosening it from its cradle, the mother often takes it on her back, and in that manner carries it about.

Among the Indians, widows cannot contract a second marriage without the consent of those on whom they depend, in virtue of the laws of widowhood. If they can find no husband for the widow, she finds herself under no difficulties; if she has any sons of an age to support her, she may continue in a state of widowhood, without danger of ever wanting any thing; if she is willing to marry again, she may, and the man she marries becomes the father of her children; he enters into all the rights and obligations of the first husband.

The husband does not weep for his wife, because, according to the savages, tears do not become men; but this is not general among all nations. The women weep for their husbands a year; they call him without ceasing, and fill their village with cries and lamentations, especially at the rising and setting of the sun, at noon, in some places when they go out to work, and when they return. Mothers do much the same for their children. The chiefs mourn only six months, and may afterwards marry again.

La Roche was once entertained in the following manner, at the nuptials of a Huron chief:

"Next morning the father and his sons proposed to conduct us down the river in their canoes to a certain

place, where they assured us, we would be entertained with all the ancient amusements of the Indians; because their chief, a young man of about nineteen years of age, was to take to himself a wife from among the white people. To this proposal we gave our consent, a small fleet of canoes were now riding on the river and waiting our arrival. The ladies who accompanied us were at first as timorous as the mountain shepherd, when first he embarks on the billows of a fathomless ocean. They insisted that the Indians should set off alone for a short distance, before they would venture into skiffs so fragile and so apparently insecure.

"The athletic youths no sooner heard the word *start*, than a well contested race ensued; a boy of about fourteen years came off victorious; he was the son of him by whom we were entertained the night previous to our excursion. Having witnessed the extraordinary dexterity which the Indians displayed in managing their canoes, the ladies were so satisfied with the skill of the Indian mariners, that they hesitated not a moment to embark.

"The morning was clear and serene, and the water smooth as a sheet of glass. The count, in order to apprise the settlement of our arrival, as they were notified the previous night to assemble in a certain place on the banks of the river, sounded the key bugle, which had a charming effect on the water and re-echoed from hill to hill. Soon a vocal concert was commenced by the Venetian dames, which ravished our ears with the most melodious harmony. The paddling oars now stood motionless, as if the Indians were enchanted with the song; but the gentle stream bore us down amid hills and dales. Still sweeter were the autumnal strains of the warblers of the grove, which cheered the birchen fleet as they passed by their choir. As we glided along the verdant banks of the murmuring stream, where the vailed beauties of nature graced the neat cottages which peeped through the grove, we soon observed the favoured spot, where the Indians had assembled. A universal cheer pervaded the

assemblage as we landed. The bride and bridegroom stood alone; she was dressed in silken robes, the dress of modern days, for she was a *Canadienne*, while he in the fierceness of ancient times wore the garb of an Indian chief.

"The mountain dew had no sooner gone round than the celebration of the nuptials commenced with the *war dance*. Four songsters or bards were selected from among them, and two drummers who formed their musical band. As the songs commenced and the drums were beaten, the ring was all in motion. The happy couple were now in the centre of the ring and performed the same motions. Twenty-five couples moved in a circular line. Their dance resembled a trotting cheval, while that of the squaws is not very unlike a favourite dance among the Europeans, called the *Hornpipe*; for they move onwards and keep their toes and heels alternately close together, without leaping to the cadence of the music. After the dance was over, they began to practice their national athletic exercises, as if celebrating the Olympic games of the Greeks. In running they displayed an extraordinary agility of limbs. They would, I have no doubt, excel the swiftest that ever ran on the Grecian sands. In leaping they would not be inferior to *Diomedes*, for I saw them leap, with a run, seven-and-twenty feet. But what most astonished us, was their celerity in gaining the summit of a very steep hill, almost perpendicular. The squirrels themselves could scarcely surpass them in climbing the lofty and branchless pine. Like an Arabian charger, they ran at full speed towards the river, and stopt instantly at the very brink of an elevated bank. When all the performances were ended, they sat down on the green turf to feast on the venison which the bridegroom had procured: for it is usual among the Indians, that the bridegroom must furnish on his wedding game sufficient to entertain his friends.

"The mountain dew was circulated in abundance, and more enthusiastic cheers than those with which they

drank the healths of the newly married couple, I never witnessed. Having signified our departure after dinner, an elderly man, the chief of a tribe, stepped out of the ranks and addressed us with a mournful but manly air, in the following tender manner, which he ordered to be interpreted to us :

" 'Take with you our hearts' warm thanks and blessings, for you are possessed of liberal and generous souls. May the journey of your life be in the sunshine and smiles of fortune. May soft breezes waft your bark on a smooth sea to your native shore. May your footsteps tread on the green grass, and may the violet and the rose spring up under your feet whithersoever you go.'

" We took our leave of the grateful Indians, congratulating ourselves on our successful adventures. This excursion will, I am sure, form a golden subject for the *conversazioni* of Venice ; for Donnabella failed not to depict every scene. In the evening we retired to the house of an English gentleman. His elegant cottage stood on a lofty cliff which commanded a pleasing prospect at eventide. When the last ray of the golden light was illuminating the west, we took our seat on the side of a hill ; here we sat and mused till the pale moon broke through the clouds and tipped the waters beneath with its soft and silvery light, while the forest tops were tinged with the light moonshine. Before us opened in a contracted view, the dark and lonely woods ; through them whispered a gentle breeze, such as the mournful echo of some distant flute. Beneath we beheld a serpentine stream which broke through the shade of a dark and distant forest ; on its limpid waters were mirrored the silver moon and the celestial orbs. As if greeted with a murmuring voice the height whence we gazed, and rolled along in the silence of night, to pursue its nocturnal course, we were reminded of the journey of our life and the time which glides along, never to return. The nuptial feast was still continued on the plains beneath, and well might we say with the poet.

" 'Blest are those feasts with simple plenty crown'd,
 Where the rural family around,
 Boast of the blessings of the lowly train,
 Which the rich deride and the proud disdain,
 To them more dear, congenial to their hearts,
 One native charm, than all the gloss of art :
 Spontaneous joys, where nature has its play,
 The soul adopts and owns their first born sway ;
 Lightly they frolic o'er the vacant mind,
 Unenvy'd, unmolested, unconfin'd.'

"Between the hours of nine and ten we hastened home by the light of the moon, to muse on the excursion of the day and the pleasures of the evening view."

It appears, therefore, that the Indians have also their merriments on occasions of this sort ; although their marriages go off more commonly without any ceremony.

There are in all nations some considerable families, which cannot marry but among themselves, especially among the Algonquins. In general, the stability of marriages is sacred in this country, and for the most part they consider, as a great disorder, those agreements which some persons make to live together as long as they like, and to separate when they are tired of each other. A husband who should forsake his wife, without any lawful cause, must expect many insults from her relations ; and a woman who should leave her husband without being forced to it by his ill conduct, would pass her time still worse.

Among the Miamis, the husband has a right to cut off his wife's nose if she runs away from him ; but among the Iroquois and the Hurons, they may part by consent. This is done without noise, and the parties thus separated may marry again. They cannot even conceive that there can be any crime in this. "My wife and I cannot agree together," said one of them to a missionary who endeavoured to make him comprehend the indecency of such a separation ; "my neighbour's case was the same, we changed wives and we were all happy ; for nothing is more reasonable than to make each other happy, when

it is so cheaply done without wronging any body." Nevertheless, this custom, as we have already observed, is looked upon as an abuse, and is not ancient, at least among the Iroquois.

Among some nations of the Indians, treaties of marriages are carried on by the parents alone. The parties interested do not appear at all ; they give themselves up entirely to the will of those on whom they depend ; however, the parents come to no conclusion without the consent of those who are to be married.

If a girl continues too long without being courted, her family generally contrive to find her a suitor. On this occasion they act with a great deal of precaution. In some places the women are not in haste to be married, because they are allowed to make trials of it when they can, and the ceremony of marriage only changes their condition for the worse.

In general there is a great deal of modesty observed in the behaviour of the young people whilst they treat of their marriages ; and they say that it was quite otherwise in ancient times. But what is almost incredible, although it has been attested by good authors, is, that in many places the new married couple are together a whole year, living in a perfect continence. This they do in order to show that they married for friendship, and not to gratify a sensual passion. A young woman, they say, would even be pointed at, who should happen to be with child the first year of her marriage.

After this it will be easier to believe what is said of the behaviour of the young people during their courtship, in the places where they are allowed to see one another in private. For though custom allows them to hold very private meetings, yet in the greatest danger that chastity can be exposed to, and even under the veil of night, they say, that nothing passes against the rules of the strictest decorum, and that not even a word is spoken that can give the least offence to modesty.

Although we have already alluded to the ceremonies

of marriages, still, perhaps, it may not be improper to offer the following observations of a missionary who resided a long time amongst the Indians:—"I find in all that has been written of the preliminaries and ceremonies of the marriages of these people, various accounts proceeding either from the different customs of divers nations, or from the little care the authors of relations took to be well informed. The intended husband must make presents, and in this, as in every thing else, nothing can exceed the discretion with which he behaves, and the respectful behaviour which he shows to his future spouse. In some places the young man is contented to go and sit by the side of the young woman in her cabin, and if she suffers it and continue in her place, it is taken for her consent, and the marriage is concluded. But in the midst of this deference and respect, he gives some tokens that he will soon be master. In fact among the presents she receives, there are some which ought less to be regarded as marks of friendship, than as symbols and notices of the slavery to which she is going to be reduced; such are the *collar*, which is a long and broad band of leather which serves to draw burdens, the *kettle* and a *billet* which are carried to her cabin. This is to let her know, that she is to carry the burdens, dress the provisions, and get wood for firing. The custom is also in some places for her to bring before hand into the cabin, where she is to dwell after marriage, all the wood that will be wanted next winter. And it is to be observed, that in all I have just said, there is no difference between the nations, where the women have all the authority, and those where they have nothing to do with the affairs of government. These same women who are in some degree the mistresses of the state, at least for form, and who make the principal body of it, when they have attained a certain age, and have children in a condition to make them respectable, are not at all respected before this and are in their domestic affairs the slaves of their husbands."

**MARRIAGE AMONG THE TONGUSI, CORIAKS, AND
KAMSCHADALES.**

"In the marriage of the Tongusi," says Abernethy, "many ceremonies are used, but the principal and indispensable one is, the offering of a plate of corn or some game to the bride by her intended husband. Among several tribes of the Tongusi, marriage is attended with dancing, music, and a variety of games and sports which sometimes continue for several days. There are others who do not exhibit any mark of rejoicing on these occasions. Among some, the contract is conducted by their parents, while others allow the lovers to choose and come to an agreement. They frequently bestow presents on each other, in order to ascertain each other's minds, for the acceptance of these gifts is a sure mark of their consent. The husband generally takes his wife among his own relations, where she spends several weeks, and is entertained with kindness and hospitality.

"If the husband be a hunter, which is generally the case, for the greater part of them procure their subsistence either by hunting or fishing, every domestic charge is devolved on the wife; still there are some who attend to agriculture and the rearing of cattle. Nothing can exceed the modesty which both the bride and bridegroom assume on the night they are wedded; and I have also been told that a separation frequently takes place a week or two after they are married, by reason of her desire to live four weeks in perfect continence. This, however, is not generally true, for I observed that chastity was very often violated, among them, before they are legally united. Among the Coriaks there are many tribes or families who never marry but among themselves. Here the woman signifies her consent by keeping the present which he sends her; if she returns it, he never sends it to another. Although the women are the slaves of their husbands in the domestic affairs, still they are very much respected when they attain a certain age,

and they even contribute to conduct the affairs of government, under the title of the *Mistresses of the State*. Their contracts of marriage are binding no longer than both parties are willing. If a separation takes place, the mother takes the children with her to her relations; however, it is not a common thing to see them separate after they have children."

Santini tells us that he was once entertained by the Kamschadales at the celebration of the nuptials of a Kamschadalian chief. His description of the merry festivities corresponds with the Olympic games which were observed among the Hurons of North America on a similar occasion :

"Era annunciato fra tutte le famiglie chi appartenevano al principe, che le nozze del loro principale fossero celebrate il giorno seguente. Tutte le signore e signori del paese si apparecchiavano all' allegrezza sopra un monte vicino al capo della nazione. Nella mattina del giorno nominato vi era una grande compagnia nel luogo dove si devono radunare. Avevano dei musici e dei cantatori di guerra. Danzavano con movimenti circolari. Il sposo e la sposa stavano nel mezzo e cantavano una canzone per la loro futura felicità. Dopo questo cominciavano a correre, saltare, e scoccare dei dardi. Questa scena mi ridusse alla memoria gli esercizi dei Greci antichi. Quest' usanza di festeggiamenti ai sponsalizi non si trova per tutto questo paese. Soventemente vanno insieme senza alcun cerimonia, dopo che si ottiene il consenso dei parenti. Quando fanno l'amore, che non sarà lungo tempo, si regala qualche cosa dall' uomo alla donna, e l'accettazione di questo è un certo indizio dell' approvazione."

"It was announced," says Santini, "among the relations of the prince, that his nuptials were to be celebrated the following day. All the damsels and young men, and the old of both sexes prepared themselves for the approaching festivities. Agreeably to the request, crowds were seen repairing to the favoured spot, which was the

summit of a beautiful hill in the immediate vicinity of the residence of the chief, the intended spouse. Musicians and *singers of war* were there to inspire their minds with mirth and sentiments of bravery and heroism. Having formed a ring round the wedded couple, who at the time sang a song for their own future happiness and prosperity, they danced and moved in a circular way. The dance was then superseded by their athletic exercises, which consisted in running, leaping, and shooting arrows. The scene at once reminded me of the Olympic games of the ancient Greeks. These rejoicings and amusements at the marriages of the Kamschadales are not at all general. In some parts of this country they frequently go together without any ceremony, if the consent of their parents be obtained. Their courtship commonly lasts no longer than the time which is consumed in sending a present to the woman, which, if she accepts of it, is a mark of her approbation."

WAR AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The youth of these various tribes are much addicted to war. While we thus express ourself in the present tense, let us be understood as describing the Indian some centuries ago. Accustomed to hear the exploits of their forefathers related with admiration, they become impatient to signalize themselves in the same career. The usual avowed causes of war among the Indians, are to secure their right of hunting within certain bounds; to maintain their claims to their own territories; or to avenge the death of such of their tribe as may have fallen in former conflicts.

Every tribe has a band of warriors. This consists of all the males of the nation, from fifteen years of age to sixty. Their arms are bows and arrows, and war clubs. The head of this club is about three inches and a half in

diameter, with an edge of flint or steel fixed in one side of it. Since their intercourse with Europeans, they have substituted the musket, for their bows and arrows, and the tomahawk for their war club; to these they have now added a scalping knife, and a dagger. These warriors are under the command of the war chief.

When the assembly of chiefs and elders have determined that war is necessary, they endeavour to persuade the warriors to take arms. "The bones of our deceased countrymen," they say, "lie uncovered; they cry to us to avenge their wrongs; their spirit must be appeased. The invisible guardians of our honour inspire us with a resolution to seek the murderers of our brothers. Let us go and devour those by whom they were slain. Sit not, therefore, inactive. Give way to your valour. Anoint your hair. Paint your faces. Fill your quivers. Make the forests resound with your songs. Console the spirit of the dead, and tell them they shall be avenged."

The warriors immediately raise the war song, and demand to be led against the enemy. The chief who is to be their leader paints himself black: fasts several days and avoids all conversation with those of the tribe. By this means he hopes to conciliate the favour of the *Great Spirit* and to avert the malevolence of the *evil* one. He carefully observes his dreams, which generally portend success. Some people have fancied that this fasting arose from a desire to accustom themselves to hunger; but according to their own notions, we are informed, that they do it purely from a religious motive. It is no less certain also that they esteem their dreams as real oracles and notices from heaven. Those Indians who are in any trouble of mind, it is said, frequently lie down to sleep in order to communicate with these oracles.

Having fasted the appointed time, he takes a belt of wampum in his hand, and addresses his warriors, informing them of all the motives for the war, and of the success which the *Great Spirit* has promised to their arms. He then lays down the belt, and he who takes it up is second in com-

mand. The chief removes the black paint, and is painted red. He sings the war song and makes a devotional address to the Great Spirit, in which he is joined by all the warriors. They then perform the war dance, and conclude with a feast of dogs' flesh. The chief, though he has fasted so long, seldom partakes of this feast; he recounts the valiant actions of himself and his ancestors. From this time till their departure on their expedition, every day is spent in preparation, and every night in feasting.

A hatchet painted red is sent to the nation which they are to attack. This is the declaration of war; a dangerous commission, which is generally discharged by a slave, and often proves fatal to him.

When the Indians set out on their march, a mat is all they take besides their arms. They maintain themselves on their way by hunting. If not near the enemy's country, they are quite unguarded, separating in small parties during the day, for the convenience of hunting; but taking care at night, to return to their camp, which is pitched before sunset. By the sun and their knowledge of the country, they direct their different routes so well that they never fail of meeting at the appointed place. When they have entered the enemy's country, a very different conduct is observed; circumspection now attends the minutest actions. The game is no longer pursued; they are not even permitted to speak; they converse by signs; they are sensible that they themselves have much sagacity in discovering an enemy, and they rightly conclude that enemies have no less. The Indians, indeed, possess a degree of sagacity, in this respect, which can scarcely be conceived by civilized nations. At a very great distance, they discover habitations by the smell of the fire. They perceive the track of a foot on the smoothest grass, and on the hardest substance. From the track they discover, with amazing certainty, the nation, the sex, the stature of the person who has passed, and the time that has elapsed since the track was formed. It is not easy to avoid an enemy so sagacious. It becomes the great concern of both parties, therefore, to conceal their own traces

and discover those of their opponents. For the former purpose they use all precautions; they follow each other in a single line, each treading in the footsteps of those before him; while the last carefully conceals their track by throwing leaves upon it. If they discover a rivulet on their way, they march in it, the more effectually to deceive their enemies. Their precautions increase as they approach their adversaries; they march only during the night, and during the day form a continual ambuscade. If they succeed in discovering their enemies without themselves being discovered, they immediately hold a council, in which they only whisper, and thus plan the dreadful scene which is to be acted. Immediately before daybreak, at the time when their adversaries are supposed to be immersed in the soundest sleep, they approach them on their hands and knees, till within bow-shot. The chief gives a signal; they start up, and with a horrid yell discharge their arrows. Taking advantage of the confusion, they rush forward, and with their tomahawks complete the carnage. Without some evident advantage of this kind, an Indian seldom engages; for he expects no praise for a victory which is purchased with the lives of any of his party.

Having secured the victory, and despatched all who would be troublesome to them on their return, they make the rest prisoners. They then scalp the dead and wounded; twisting the hair round their left hand and setting their foot on the person's neck, with a few strokes of the scalping-knife, they dexterously separate the scalp from the head, and preserve it as a monument of their victory. They never dispute about the division of their prisoners. He who is apprehensive of being wronged, with his tomahawk soon despatches the unhappy cause of their contest. They now turn their faces towards their own country, and if apprehensive of being pursued they use the same precautions with which they advanced. If all these precautions do not conceal them, they slay all their prisoners and each taking a separate road homewards, they put an effectual stop to the searches of an enemy. If they proceed in

security, they are very careful to watch their prisoners; who during the day are constantly held by some of their conquerors, and during the night are fastened to the ground by the arms, the legs, and the neck, and cords from all these places are held by an Indian, who is instantly awaked by the smallest motion. The prisoners often during the night time sing their death song. "I am going to die," they exclaim, "but will not shrink from the tortures inflicted by my enemies. I will die like a warrior, and go to join those chiefs who have suffered before me."

When they approach their tents, they announce their arrival by different cries. The number of war whoops indicate how many prisoners they have taken. The number of death cries, indicate how many of their companions they have lost. The whole village meets them to learn the particulars. They form a line through which the prisoners are obliged to pass; and they beat them with sticks from one end to the other. By a council which is immediately held, their fate is soon determined. Those who are condemned to die are delivered to the war chief; those who are spared are to be given to the chief of the nation. A prisoner is no sooner condemned than he is led to execution. He is bound to the stake, while, for the last time, he sings his death song. He is then burned and expires with that ferocious courage which distinguishes an Indian warrior. If he be a chief who has given proofs of his prowess in former engagements with his enemies, they frequently give his fortitude a severe trial, by the infliction of the most dreadful torments. Terror finds no place on the one hand, nor pity on the other. The victim glories in his torments as unequivocal marks of the opinion entertained of him by his tormentors. He boast of the victories he has obtained over their nation: he enumerates the scalps which he possesses; he recapitulates the manner in which he has treated his prisoners, and reproaches them with ignorance in the act of torture. This scene, it is said, sometimes continues with little intermission for several days, till the prisoner is exhausted, but not humbled, expires without a sigh, or till his taunts provoke

his tormentors to frustrate their own designs by putting a speedy end to his existence. The tortures made use of on these occasions are of various kinds, but all of them are such only as a savage heart could conceive, or a savage hand could inflict, and that only when prompted by that deadly animosity which cannot exist, but among barbarous tribes.

It is not to be imagined that these tortures are often inflicted. None ever suffer them but a chief, who has distinguished himself in war. Burning is the general way of putting prisoners to death, and but few of them suffer even in that manner. A great part are delivered to the chief of the nation, and distributed to those who have lost their husbands, sons or other relations in the war. They are by them generally adopted into their respective families; and if they conduct themselves properly and seem contented with their condition, they experience that tenderness and regard which belong to those whose places they fill. They have no chance of returning to their own tribe, for the Indians esteem all who permit themselves to be made prisoners as being unworthy of life, and would not receive them, could they make their escape. The prisoners who are not adopted into some family, are made slaves, and are often disposed of to Europeans for spirituous liquors; a custom introduced by the French missionaries for the purpose of preventing the torturing of prisoners of war.

The animosity of savages is hereditary, and can seldom be extinguished; when peace becomes necessary, therefore, it is not easy to bring about the preliminaries. Even when an Indian is brought to the last extremity, he will seldom confess that peace is necessary for him; he tries to show that it is the interest of his adversary; and generally employs a mediator who is a friend to both parties. A few of the most respectable heads of the tribe, attended by those chiefs who have undertaken to be mediators, proceed to that nation with which they are to treat. Before them is carried the pipe of peace, a sacred symbol, the rights of which no Indian will presume to violate. This pipe is about four

feet long ; its bowl is of red marbel ; its stem of wood adorned with feathers, and painted with hieroglyphics. From the variety of these ornaments an Indian can immediately judge to what nation it belongs. Having reached the encampment of the hostile nation, an inferior chief fills the pipe of peace with tobacco, and having lighted it, presents it first to heaven, then to earth, and lastly, in a circle to all parts of the horizon ; thereby invoking all the spirits that dwell in heaven, in earth and air, to be present at the treaty. He next presents it to the hereditary chief, who takes a few quiffs, blowing the smoke, first towards heaven, and then around him towards the earth. In their turns, it is presented to all the chiefs in gradations, none presuming to touch it but with their lips. A council is immediately held, and if the parties agree, a red hatchet is buried as a symbol of the promised oblivion of their animosity. A belt made of a kind of shells, commonly called a belt of wampum, is made use of on this occasion ; and by the arrangement of the shells, records to posterity every stipulation of the treaty.

With this account, which is given us in an eminent Geography, the following observations by the Bishop of Meaux, are concordant :

“ As soon as all the warriors are embarked, the canoes at first go a little way and range themselves close together upon a line ; then the chief rises up, and holding a *Chichicoue* in his hand, he thunders out his song of war, and his soldiers answer him by a treble *He*, drawn with all their strength from the bottom of their breasts. The elders and chiefs of the council who remain on the shore, exhort the warriors to behave well, and especially not to suffer themselves to be surprised. Of all the advices that can be given to a savage, this is the most necessary. This exhortation does not interrupt the chief who continues singing. Lastly the warriors conjure their relations and friends not to forget them. Then sending forth all together hideous howlings, they set off directly, and row with such speed that they are soon out of sight

"The Hurons and the Iroquois do not use the Chichicoue, but they give them to their prisoners; so that these instruments, which among others is an instrument of war, seem among them to be a mark of slavery. The warriors seldom make any short marches, especially when the troop is numerous; but on the other hand, they take presages from every thing; and the jugglers, whose business it is to explain them, hasten or retard their march at their pleasure. Whilst they are not in a suspected country, they take no precaution, and frequently one shall scarce find two or three warriors together, each taking his own way to hunt; but how far soever they stray from the route, they all return punctually to the place, and at the hour appointed for their rendezvous. They encamp a long time before sunset, and commonly they leave before the camp a large space surrounded with palisades, or rather a sort of lattice, on which they place their *Manitous*, turned towards the place they are going to. They invoke them for an hour, and they do the same every morning before they decamp. After this they think they have nothing to fear, they suppose that the spirits take upon them to be sentinels, and all the army sleeps quietly under their supposed safeguard. Experience does not undeceive these barbarians, nor bring them out of their presumptuous confidence. It has its source in an indolence and laziness which nothing can conquer. Every one is an enemy in the way of the warriors, but nevertheless, if they meet any of their allies, or any parties nearly equal in force of people, with whom they have no quarrel they make friendship with each other. If the allies they meet are at war with the same enemy, the chief of the strongest party, or of that which took up arms first, gives some scalps to the other, which they are always provided with for these occasions, and says to him, "*You have done your business;*" that is to say, "you have fulfilled your engagement, your honour is safe, you may return home." But this is to be understood when the meeting is accidental, when they have not appointed them, and when they have no occasion for a reinforcement. When they are just entering on an enemy's

country, they stop for a ceremony which is somewhat singular.

"At night they make a great feast, after which they lie down; as soon as they are awake, those who have had any dreams go from fire to fire, singing their song of death, with which they intermix their dreams in an enigmatical manner. Every one racks his brains to guess them, and if nobody can do it, those who have dreamt are at liberty to return home. This gives a fine opportunity to cowards. Then they make new invocations to the *Spirits*; they animate each other more than ever to do wonders; they swear to assist each other, and then they renew their march; and if they come thither by water, they quit their canoes, which they hide very carefully. If every thing was observed that is prescribed on these occasions, it would be difficult to surprise a party of war that is entered into an enemy's country. They ought to make no more fires, no more cries, nor hunt any more, nor even speak to each other but by signs. But these laws are sometimes violated. Every savage is born presumptuous, and incapable of the least restraint. They seldom neglect, however, to send out every evening some rangers, who consume two or three hours in looking round the country; if they have seen nothing they go to sleep quietly, and they leave the guard of the camp again to the *Manitous*.

"As soon as they have discovered an enemy, they send out a party to reconnoitre them, and on their report they hold a council. The attack is generally made at day-break. They suppose the enemy is at this time in their deepest sleep, and all night they lie on their bellies, without stirring. The approaches are made in the same posture, crawling on their feet and hands, till they come to the place; then all rise up, the chief gives the signal by a loud cry, to which all the troops answer by real howlings, and they make at the same time their first discharge of their arrows; then, without giving the enemy any time to look about, they fall upon them with their clubs. In latter times these people have substituted little hatchets instead of these wooden head-

breakers, which they call by the same name; since which, their engagements are more bloody. When the battle is over, they take the scalps of the dead and the dying; and they never think of making prisoners till the enemy makes no more resistance.

"If they find their enemy on their guard, or too well intrenched, they retire, if they have time for it; if not, they take the resolution to fight stoutly, and there is sometimes much blood shed on both sides.

"The attack of a camp is the image of fury itself, the barbarous fierceness of the conquerors, and the despair of the vanquished, who know what they must expect if they fall into the hands of their enemies, produce on either side such efforts as pass all description. The appearance of the combatants all besmeared with black and red, still increases the horror of the fight; and from this pattern one might make a true picture of hell. When the victory is no longer doubtful, they directly despatch all those whom it would be troublesome to carry away, and seek only to tire out the rest whom they intend to make prisoners.

"The savages are naturally intrepid, and notwithstanding their brutal fierceness, they yet preserve in the midst of action much coolness. Nevertheless they never fight in the field, only when they cannot avoid it, their reason is, that a victory marked with the blood of the conquerors, is not properly a victory, and the glory of a chief consists in bringing back all his subjects safe and sound. I have been told, that when two enemies who are acquainted, meet in the fight, there sometimes passes between them dialogues much like that of *Homer's* heroes. I do not think this happens in the height of engagement; but it may happen that in little rencountres, or perhaps before passing a brook, or forcing an entrenchment, they say something by way of defiance, or to call to mind some such rencountre.

"War is commonly made by a surprise, and it generally succeeds, for as the savages very frequently neglect the precautions necessary to shun a surprise, so are they active and skilful in surprising. On the other hand these people

have a wonderful talent, I may say, an instinct, to know if any person has passed any place. On the shortest grass, or the hardest ground, even upon stones, they discover some traces, and by the way they are turned, by the shape of their feet, by the manner they are separated from each other, they distinguish, as they say, the footsteps of different nations, and those of men from those of women. I thought a long time there was an exaggeration in this matter but the reports of those who have lived long among the savages are so unanimous herein, that I see no room to doubt of their sincerity. Till the conquerors are in a country of safety, they march forward expeditiously, and lest the wounded should retard them, they carry them by turns on litters, or draw them on sledges in winter. When they re-enter their canoes they make their prisoners sing, and they practice the same thing when they meet any allies; an honour which costs them a feast who receive it, and the unfortunate captives something more than the trouble of singing; for they invite the allies to caress them, and to caress the prisoners is to do them all the mischief they can devise, or to maim them in such a manner that they are lamed for ever; but there are some chiefs who take some care of these wretches, and do not suffer them to be too much abused. But nothing is equal to the care they take to keep them; by day they are tied by the neck and by the arms to one of the bars of the canoes. When they go by land there is always one that holds them; and at night they are stretched upon the earth quite naked; some cords fastened to pickets, fixed in the ground, keep their legs, arms, and necks so confined that they cannot stir, and some long cords confine also their hands and feet, in such a manner that they cannot make the least motion without waking the savages who lie on these cords.

"If among the prisoners there are any, who by their wounds are not in a condition to be carried away, they burn them directly; and as this is done in the first heat, and when they are in haste to retreat, they are, for the most

part, more fortunate than the others who are reserved for a slower punishment.

"In order to leave on the field a mark of their victory, the chief of the victorious party sticks in the ground his fighting club, on which he had taken care to trace the mark of of his nation, that of his family, and his own picture; that is to say, an *Oval*, with all the figures he had in his face. Others painted all these marks on the trunk of a tree, or on a piece of bark, with charcoal pounded and rubbed, mixed with some colours. They add some hieroglyphic characters, by means of which, those who pass by may know even the minutest circumstances, not only of the action, but also of the whole transactions of the campaign. They know the chief of the party by all the marks I have mentioned; the number of his exploits by so many mats; that of his soldiers by lines; that of the prisoners carried away by little *Marmosets* placed on a stick or on a *Chichicoue*; that of the dead by human figures without heads, with differences to distinguish the men, the women, and the children. But these marks are not always set up near the place where the action happened, for when a party is pursued, they place them out of their route, in order to deceive their pursuers.

"When the warriors are arrived at a certain distance from the village whence they came, they halt, and the chief sends one to give notice of their approach. Among some nations, as soon as the messenger is within hearing, he makes various cries which give a general idea of the principal adventures and success of the campaign; he marks the number of men they have lost by so many cries of death. Immediately the young people come out to hear the particulars; sometimes the whole village comes out, but one alone addresses the messenger, and learns from him the details of the news which he brings. As the messenger relates a fact, he repeats it aloud, turning towards those who accompanied him by acclamations, or dismal cries, according as the news are mournful or pleasing. The messenger is then conducted to a cabin, where the elders put to him the same questions as before; after which, a public crier invites

all the young people to go to meet the warriors, and the women to carry them refreshments. In some places they only think of mourning for those they have lost; then the messenger makes only cries of death. They do not go to meet him; but at his entering the village, he finds all the people assembled, he relates in a few words all that has passed, then retires to his cabin, where they carry him food; and for some time they do nothing but mourn for the dead.

"When this time is expired, they make another cry to proclaim the victory. Then every one dries up his tears, and they think of nothing but rejoicing. Something like this is practiced at the return of the hunters: the women who remained in the village go to meet them as soon as they are informed of their approach, and before they inquire of the success of their hunting, they inform them by their tears of the deaths that have happened since their departure. To return to the warriors, the moment when the women join them, is, properly speaking, the beginning of the punishment of the prisoners; and when some of them are intended to be adopted, which is not allowed to be done by all nations, their future parents, whom they take care to inform of it, go and receive them at a little distance, and conduct them to their cabins by some round-about ways. In general, the captives are a long time ignorant of their fate, and there are few who escape the first fury of the women.

"All the prisoners who are destined to die, and those whose fate is not yet decided, as I have already said abandoned to the fury of the women, who go to meet the warriors; and it is surprising that they resist all the evils they make them suffer. If any one, especially, has lost either her son or husband, or any other person that was dear to her, though this loss had happened thirty years before, she is a *fury*. She attacks the first who falls under her hand; and one can scarcely imagine how far she is transported with rage she has no regard either to humanity or decency, and on every wound she gives him, one would expect to see him fall dead at her feet, if we did not know how ingenious

these barbarians are in prolonging the most unheard of punishments. All the night passes in this manner in the camp of the warriors.

"The next day is the day of the triumph of the warriors. The Iroquois and some others effect a great modesty, and a still greater disinterestedness on these occasions. The chiefs enter alone into the village, without any mark of victory, keeping a profound silence, and retire to their cabins, without showing that they have the least pretensions to the prisoners. Among other nations the same custom is not observed: the chief marches at the head of his troops with the air of a conqueror; his lieutenant comes after him, and a crier goes before, who is ordered to renew the death cries. The warriors follow by two and two, the prisoners in the midst, crowned with flowers, their faces and hair painted, holding a stick in one hand and a *Chichicoue* in the other, their bodies almost naked, their arms tied above the elbows with a cord, the end of which is held by the warriors, and they sing without ceasing their death song to the sound of the *Chichicoue*.

"This song has something mournful and haughty at the same time; and the captive has nothing of the air of a man who suffers, and that is vanquished. This is pretty near the sense of these songs;—"I am brave and intrepid; I do not fear death nor any kind of tortures; those who fear them are cowards; they are less than women; life is nothing without courage; may my enemies be confounded with despair and rage; Oh! that I could devour them and drink their blood to the last drop." From time to time they stop them; the people gather round them and dance; they seem to do it with a good will; they relate the finest actions of their lives, they name all those they have killed or burnt; and they make particular mention of those for whom the people present are concerned; one would say that they only seek to animate more and more against them the masters of their fate. In fact, these boastings make those who hear them quite furious, and they pay dear for their vanity but by

the most cruel treatment, one would say, that they take a pleasure in being tormented.

" Sometimes they oblige the prisoners to run through two ranks of savages, armed with stones and sticks, who fall upon them as if they would knock them in the head at the first blow ; yet it never happens that they kill them ; so much care do they take, even when they seem to strike at random, that their hand, which is guided by fury alone, does not touch any part that would endanger life. In this march every one has a right to torment them. They are indeed allowed to defend themselves ; but they would, if they were to attempt it, soon be overpowered. As soon as they are arrived at the village, they lead them from cabin to cabin, and every where they make them pay their welcome. In one place they pull off one of their nails in another place they bite off one of their fingers, or cut it off with a bad knife which cuts like a saw. An old man tears their flesh to the very bone ; a child with an awl wounds, them where he can ; a woman whips them without mercy, till she is so tired that she cannot lift her hand ; but none of the warriors lay their hands on them, although they are still their masters ; and no one can mutilate the prisoners without their leave, which they seldom want ; but this excepted, they have an entire liberty to make them suffer ; and if they lead them through several villages, either of the same nation, or their neighbours or allies who have desired, they are received every where in the same manner.

" After these preludes they set about the distribution of the captives, and their fate depends on those to whom they are delivered. At the rising of the council where they have consulted of their fate, a crier invites all the people to come to an open place, where the distribution is made without any noise or disturbance. The women who have lost their children or husbands in the war, generally receive the first lot. In the next place they fulfil the promises made to those who have given the *collars*. If there are not captives enough for this purpose, they supply the want of them by scalps, with which those who receive them

adorn themselves on rejoicing days; and at other times they hang them up at the doors of their cabins. On the contrary, if the number of prisoners exceeds that of the claimants, they send the overplus to the village of their allies. A chief is not replaced but by a chief, or by two or three ordinary persons who are always burnt, although those whom they replace had died of diseases.

"The Iroquois never fail to set apart some of their prisoners for the public, and these the council dispose of as they think proper. But the mothers of families may set aside their sentence, and are the mistress of the life and death even of those who have been condemned or absolved by the council.

"In some nations the warriors do not entirely deprive themselves of the right of disposing of their captives, and they to whom the council give them are obliged to put them again into their hands if they require it; but they do it very seldom; and when they do it they are obliged to return the pledges or presents received from those persons. If on their arrival they have declared their intentions on this subject, it is seldom opposed. In general, the greatest number of the prisoners of war are condemned to death, or to very hard slavery, in which their lives are never secure; some are adopted; and from that time their condition differs in nothing from that of the children of the nation. They enter into all the rights of those places which they supply; and they often acquire so far the spirit of the nation of which they are become members, that they make no difficulty of going to war against their own countrymen. The Iroquois would have scarcely supported themselves hitherto but by this policy. Having been at war many years against all the other nations, they would at present have been reduced almost to nothing, if they had not taken great care to naturalize a good part of their prisoners of war.

"It sometimes happens that instead of sending into the other villages the surplus of their captives, they give them to private persons, who had not asked for any; and, in this

case, either they are not so far masters of them, as not to be obliged to consult the chiefs of the council how they shall dispose of them, or else they are obliged to adopt them. In the first place he to whom they make a present of a slave, sends for him by one of his family; then he fastens him to the door of his cabin, and assembles the chief of the council, to whom he declares his intentions and asks their advice. This advice is generally agreeable to his desire. In the second place the council, in giving the prisoners to the person they have determined on, say to him, 'It is a long time we have been deprived of such an one your relation, or your friend, who was a support of our village.' Or else, 'we regret the spirit of such an one you have lost; and who, by his wisdom, maintained the public tranquility; he must appear again this day; he was too dear to us, and too precious to defer his revival any longer; we place him again on his mat, in the person of this prisoner.'

"There are nevertheless, some private persons that are in all appearance more considered than others, to whom they make a present of a captive without any conditions, and with full liberty to do what they please with him; and then the council express themselves in these terms, when they put him in their hands:— This is to repair the loss of such a one, and to cleanse the heart of his father, of his mother, of his wife, and of his children. If you are either willing to make them drink the broth of this flesh, or that you had rather replace the deceased on his mat, in the person of this captive, you may dispose of him as you please.'

"When a prisoner is adopted, they lead him to the cabin where he must live, and the first thing they do is to untie him; then they warm some water and wash him; they dress his wounds, if he has any, and if they were even putrified, and full of worms, he is soon cured; they omit nothing to make him forget his suffering; they make him eat, and clothe him decently. In a word, they would not do more for their own children, nor for him whom *he raises from the dead*; this is their expression. Some days after, they make a feast, during which they solemnly give him

the name of the person whom he replaces, and whose rights he not only acquires from that time, but he lays himself also under the same obligation.

"Amongst the Hurons and Iroquois, the prisoners they intend to burn, are sometimes as well treated at first, and even till the moment of execution, as those that have been adopted. It appears as if they were victims they had fattened for the sacrifice, and they are really a sacrifice to the *god of war*. The only difference they make between these and the others, is, that they blacken their faces all over; after this, they entertain them in the best manner they are able; they always speak kindly to them; they give them the names of sons, brothers, or nephews, according to the person whose names they are to appease by their death. They also sometimes give them young women, to serve them for wives all the time they have to live. But when they are informed of their fate, they must be well kept, to prevent their escaping. Therefore this often times is concealed from them.

"When they have been delivered up to a woman, the moment they inform her every thing is ready for execution, she is no longer a mother, she is a *fury*, who passes from the tenderest caresses to the greatest excess of rage; she begins by invoking the spirit of him she desires to revenge. 'Approach,' says she, 'you are going to be appeased; I prepare a feast for thee; drink great draughts of this broth which is going to be poured out to thee; receive the sacrifice I am going to make to thee in sacrificing this warrior; he shall be burnt and put in the kettle; they shall apply red hot hatchets to his flesh; they shall pull of his scalp; they shall drink in his skull; make therefore no more complaints, thou shalt be fully satisfied.'

"This form of speech, which is properly the sentence of death, varies much as to the terms; but for the meaning, it is always the same. Then a crier makes the captive come out of the cabin, and declares in a loud voice the intention of him or her to whom he belongs, and finishes by exhorting the young people to behave well. Another succeeds, who

addresses him that is to suffer, and says, *brother, take courage, thou art going to be burnt.* And he answers coolly, *'that is well, I give thee thanks.'* Immediately there is a cry through the whole village, and the prisoner is led to the place of his punishment. For the most part they tie him to a post by the hands and feet; but in such a manner that he can turn round it. But sometimes when the execution takes place in a cabin whence there is no danger of escaping, they let him run from one end to the other. Before they begin to burn him, he sings for the last time his death song. Then he recites his achievements, and almost always in a manner the most insulting to those he perceives around him. Then he exhorts them not to spare him, but to remember that he is a man and a warrior. During these tragical and barbarous scenes the sufferer sings aloud, and with such seeming carelessness, that hereby he offers the greatest insult to his executioners. In short, the thought that there are no hopes of mercy, gives resolution and inspires boldness.

"As to the causes that should produce in the savages such inhumanity, which we could never have believed men to have been guilty of, I believe they acquire it by degrees, and have been used to it insensibly by custom; but a desire of seeing their enemy behave manly, the insults which the sufferers do not cease to make to their tormentors, the desire of revenge, which is the reigning passion of this people, and which they do not think sufficiently glutted, whilst the courage of those who are the object of it, is not subdued, and lastly superstition, have a great share in it, for what excesses are not produced by a false zeal, guided by so many passions."

WAR AMONG THE TONGUSI, CORIAKS, KÁMSCHADALES,
YAKUTSI, OKOTSI, OF SIBERIA.

When war is declared among the Tongusi, according to Abernethy, Santini, and others, the first ceremony, which is the very same among the North American Indians, is to *hang the kettle on the fire*. This preliminary, no doubt, originated from the barbarous custom of eating the prisoners of war, and those who had been killed, after they had been boiled. We find, however, no authentic proof adduced by any European writer or traveller, which will induce us to believe that it was customary, either among the North American Indians or the tribes inhabiting the north-east part of Asia, to eat human flesh; still it is acknowledged by themselves on both continents. Some eminent travellers have asserted that the terms *to drink the blood or broth of the flesh of their enemies*, were only an allegorical way of speaking among the Asiatics, and consequently among the Indians of North America. These figurative expressions are often found in the scripture. The enemies of *David* did not, as it appears, make it a custom to eat the flesh of their, enemies, when he said Psalm xxvii. 5, ii. "*When the wicked, even mine enemies came upon me to eat up my flesh.*" In after times, however, we are convinced that nations substituted the fact in room of the figure. Although the expressions which the Asiatics of Siberia and the North American Indians made use of, when they addressed their prisoners of war would in their literal sense induce us to believe that cannibalism was common among them on certain occasions, yet, we have no better proof than their own allegorical expressions, we must not be rash enough to accuse them of such inhumanity.

"The motives," says Abernethy, "which engage the barbarous tribes of north-east Asia to make war, are generally trifling, and often founded on some old or new injury. Under these circumstances, nations which were once enemies are seldom at peace with each other. Before they set

out on any warlike expedition, they must first obtain the approbation and sanction of their elders and chiefs who constitute the council. Among the *Yakutsi* and *Okotsi*, fasting for several days is deemed indispensably necessary, especially for their chiefs or leaders. Some tribes among the *Tongusi* and *Coriaks* paint themselves black the day before they depart; this colour, however, is changed into red on setting off.

"The chief among the *Kamschadales* fasts longer than the other warriors, and during that time he scarcely converses with any person, and is besmeared with black. This painting themselves with black arises, I suppose, from some notions of the *death* or slaughter which they are about to inflict on their enemies. Dreams are also carefully observed, and more favourably interpreted, for they are generally auspicious mens. After they have performed many ridiculous ceremonies the chief assembles his warriors, and tells them that the *Great Spirit* and the spirits of their murdered brethren demand revenge. Having delivered an enthusiastic and figurative speech of no great length, in which he reminds them of the bravery and heroism of their fathers and of the injuries done them and their brethren, they heat water with which they wash the black colour from his face. They set his hair in order, grease it and repaint it with red and various other colours. After he is dressed in his finest robes he begins to sing the *song of death* in a low tone. His warriors then who are to accompany him, sing one after another their *war song*; for every man has his own, which is not to be sung by another. Some families have also songs peculiar to themselves. They now proceed to hear the final decision of the council, who are for two or three days secluded from society. 'Go,' says the elders, 'and wipe away the blood of your brethren; their bodies are not covered: destroy your enemies and eat all your captives.' This sentence is received with acclamations, howlings, and yells, and they depart to make a feast, which is called the feast of the dog; for the dogs are generally the only dish. Before the dog is put into the kettle, they offer him to the

god of war. Sometimes they declare war openly by sending a painted tomanhawk to their enemies; and at other times they take them by surprise without giving the least notice of their hostile intentions. Among the Coriaks a second feast is given by the chief before their departure, to which he invites all the village. Before they partake of any thing, the chief stands up and delivers a longer speech than usual. "We have been slain," says he, "the bones of our brethren remain uncovered, their spirits cry against us, and we must satisfy them. The Great Spirit tells us to take revenge. Take therefore courage and dress your hair; paint your faces and fill your quivers."

"After this discourse he is applauded with deafening yells. He then advances into the midst of the assembly to sing with his war club in his hand. The warriors swear or promise to follow him and support him till they die. They put themselves in the position of fighting, and their gestures would almost make one believe that they are actually fighting among themselves. This they do that their chiefs and family may understand their intrepidity and firm resolutions of not flying from the enemy. Songs and dances follow these assurances, and the feast puts an end to these ceremonies.

"The Tongusi, in order to ascertain the courage, patience, and perseverance of their warriors, inflict many injuries and insults on the young people who never faced an enemy. They first reproach them with the names of cowards; they beat them with their clubs, and even throw boiling water on them; and if they show on these occasions the least impatience and sensibility, they are reckoned as dastards who are not worthy of the name of warriors. They carry this practice of trying the young men so far that it would be too tedious to relate them.

"When the day of departure is arrived, they are not at all void of those tender feelings, which are always found among any civilized nation on occasions of this sort. They give mutual pledges as assurances of a perpetual remembrance. At their departure the whole village meets at the

cabin of the chief, which is now surrounded by warriors. On coming out of his cabin, he addresses them for the last time. His speech is much the same as I have already said. After his speech he again sings the song of death, and they all take their leave of their families, friends and relations.

"Their arms are bows and arrows, a javelin and a *head-breaker*. Their defensive armour consists of the hides of buffaloes and sometimes a coat of pliable sticks, woven and pretty well wrought. They have now however, substituted swords and muskets for their offensive weapons and defensive armour, which prove more fatal and destructive.

"The Coriaks have their tutelar deities which they carry with them on these expeditions. These symbols under which every one represents his familiar spirit, are painted with various colours and carried in sacks. When they travel by water they place the sacks which contain them, their presents, and other valuable articles, in the fore part of their canoes where the chief sits with no other intention, I suppose, than that of honouring him.

"When they encamp, which is always about sunset, they construct tents of mats which they carry along with them. During the night they divide their watches after the manner of the Romans. Sometimes, however, they all sleep, except two or three on whom they have the greatest dependance. But their principal safeguard are their deities, whom they imagine to be their surest protectors. On the following morning, if they are not in any hurry to arrive in the country of their enemies, small parties separate into different directions to hunt, and in the evening all return to their camp about the same time. Thus they procure their subsistence as they go along without being at the trouble of carrying burdens of provisions.

"It is generally about day break that they attack their enemies, because about this time they imagine that they are asleep. The chief gives the signal, and they all rush forward, discharging their arrows, and preparing their more deadly weapons, their *tomahawks*. Slaughter and destruction are now committed without mercy or compas-

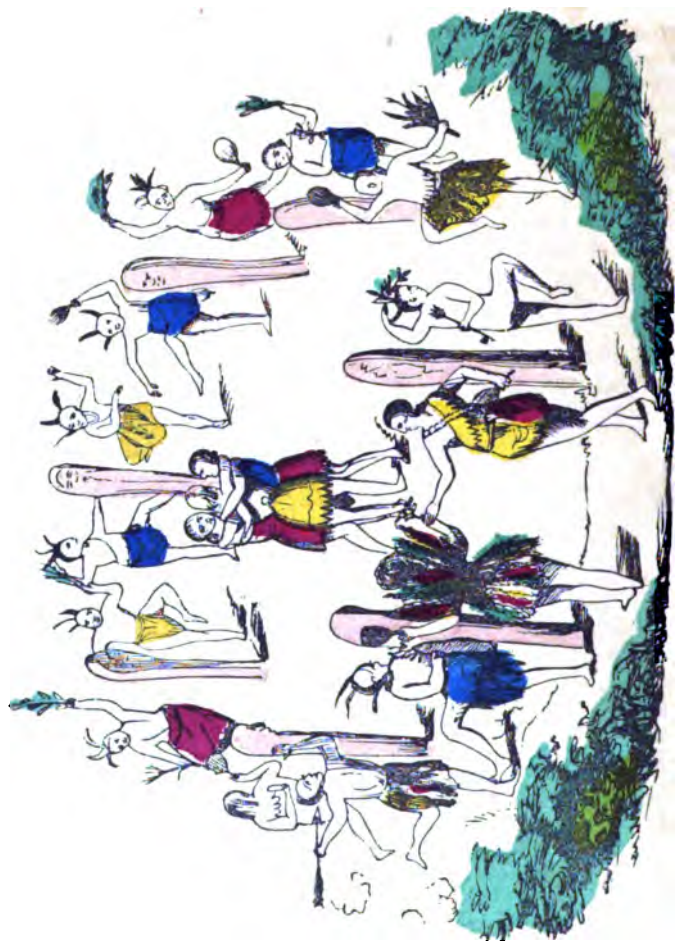
sion, and the vanquished frequently undergo the painful operation of *scalping*.

"In retreating, they use the greatest precaution, by marching forward expeditiously; and pursuing a different route from what the enemies would suppose. They also conceal the marks of their steps by covering them with the leaves of the trees. Those who have been taken prisoners are doomed to the most cruel treatment, much worse than the torments which the Christians endured from the Pagans.

"The Yakutsi conduct their prisoners to their villages where they are immediately slaughtered, except to those who are ransomed by their respective chiefs. Many of them are also given to those widows who have lost their husbands in war. The Okotsi are again more merciful, for they seldom put to death any of their captives, unless they attempt to escape. The same treatment towards prisoners of war has been often observed among the various tribes of north-east Asia.

"Innumerable ceremonies attend the entrance of the warriors into their villages, on their return from the field of battle. The Tongusi enter in great triumph. They send two messengers before to announce their approach, and relate their success, if they come off conquerors. All their friends of both sexes are summoned to meet them, at some distance from the village, with provisions and other refreshments. Here they make a feast, during which every one recounts his own exploits and heroic actions. After they amuse themselves with dancing and singing, they return home, where they are entertained with more sumptuous festivities which last for several days. The prisoners are contented with singing mournful airs, in which they implore the compassion of their conquerors. When captives are adopted among them, they fail not to show them that they are no less humane than they are ferocious when they inflict punishment."

Santini has observed almost the same as Abernethy; but he has noticed more particularly the *Potoosi* of the Coriaks, which is held so sacred among the North American Indians.



THE DANCE OF THE CALUMET.

under the name of *Calumet*. Thus speaks Santini :
" Quando si vuol dischiare la pace, si accende la Sacra Pipa di tabacco. Allora uno dei principi l'offerisce al commandante degli inimici, la quale se riceve, la guerra e finita. Si dice che da tutta questa gente, il contratto della Pipa e stimato inviolabile. Il concavo e fattod'argilla e il tubo d' una canna. Il tubo e ornato di piume di varii colori : Ma hanno differenti pipe per differenti contratti."

When a nation is inclined to make peace, according to Santini, they light the *sacred pipe*, and it is offered by a chief to the chief commander of the hostile tribe; if he receives and smokes it, peace is immediately proclaimed; and so sacred do they consider this agreement, that they have been seldom or never violated. The bowl is made of clay, and the tube of a reed three or four feet long; it is decorated with feathers of various colours. They have their different pipes for their different sorts of contracts.

THE DANCE OF THE CALUMET AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

When the dance of the *calumet* is intended, as it generally is, to conclude a peace, or a treaty of alliance against a common enemy, they grave a serpent on the tube of the pipe, and set on one side of it a board, on which is represented two men of the two confederate nations, with the enemy under their feet, distinguished by the mark of his nation. In the centre are placed three of their most beautiful females, in order to make the treaty more solemn and binding, as the number *three* is by them considered the most sacred. Sometimes, instead of a calumet, they set up a fighting club. But if it concerns only a single alliance, they represent two men joining one hand and holding in the other a *calumet* of peace, and having each at his side the mark of his nation. In all these treaties they give mutual pledges, necklaces, calumets, slaves; sometimes elks

and deer skins, well dressed, and ornamented with figures made with porcupines' hair; and then they represent on these skins the things which have been mentioned, either with porcupines, hair, or plain colours. During this treaty, which is contracted by means of the *pipe*, the greater part of them join in dancing, which is called the *calumet* dance. The chief carries the *grand pipe* in his hand and leads the circular dance, sometimes uttering sentiments of joy, as if congratulating his tribe on obtaining confederates, and at other times howling revenge against the common enemy. The chief, who was the means of reconciling the two tribes to each other, first smokes the *pipe* and then offers it to the chief of his confederates, who also fumes in his turn. Then the whole assembly join in one common cry of congratulation.

"This ceremony," says the Bishop of Meaux, "is properly a military feast. The warriors are the actors, and one would say, that it was instituted only to give them an opportunity of publishing their great achievements in war. I am not the author of this opinion, which does not agree well with theirs, who have maintained that the calumet took its origin from the *Caduceus* of *Mercury*, and that in its institution it was esteemed as a symbol of peace. All those I saw dance, sing, shake the *chichicoue*, and beat the drum, were young people equipped as when they prepare for the march; they had painted their faces with all sorts of colours, their heads were adorned with feathers, and they held some in their hands like fans. The calumet was also adorned with feathers, and was set up in the most conspicuous place. The band of music and the dancers were round about it; the spectators divided here and there in little companies; the women separated from the men, all seated on the ground, and dressed in their finest robes, which at some distance made a pretty show.

"Between the music and the commandant, who sat before the door of his lodging, they had set up a post, on which, at the end of every dance, a warrior came and gave a stroke with his hatchet. At this signal there was a great

silence, and this man repeated with a loud voice, some of his great feats, and then received the applauses of the spectators. Afterwards he went to his place and the sport began again. This lasted two hours for each of the nations; and I acknowledge that I took no great pleasure in it, not only on account of the same tone and the unpleasantness of the music, but because all the dances consisted in contortions, which seemed to me to express nothing and were no way entertaining.

"*The dance of the discovery* is more entertaining, because it has more action, and expresses better than the foregoing the subject it represents. It is a natural representation of all that passes in an expedition of war; and, as I have before observed, that the savages, for the greatest part only, endeavour to surprise the enemy, this is no doubt the reason why they have given this dance the name of the *discovery*.

"However that may be, only one single man performs this dance. At first he advances slowly into the midst of the place, where he remains for some time motionless, after which he represents, one after another, the setting out of the warriors, the march, and the encamping; he goes on the discovery, he makes his approach, he stops as if to take breath, then all on a sudden he grows furious, and one would imagine he was going to kill every body, then he appears more calm, and takes one of the company as if he had him a prisoner of war; he makes a show of knocking another person's brains out; he levels his gun at another; and, lastly, he sets up a running with all his might, and he stops instantaneously and recovers himself. This is to represent a retreat, at first precipitate and afterwards less so. Then he expresses by different cries the various affections of his mind, during his last campaign, and finishes by reciting all the brave actions he has performed in the war.

"In the western parts there is another dance used which is called *the dance of the bull*. The dancers form several circles or rings, and the music, which is always the drum or the *chichicoue*, is in the midst of the place. They never sep

arate those of the family ; they do not join hands, and every one carries in his hand his arms and his buckler. All the circles do not turn in the same way ; and though they caper much, and very high, they always keep time and measure.

"From time to time a chief of a family presents his shield ; they all strike on it, and at every stroke he repeats some of his exploits. Then he goes and cuts a piece of tobacco at a post, where they have fastened a certain quantity and gives it to one of his friends. If any one can prove that he has done greater exploits, or had a share in those the other boasts of, he has a right to take the piece of tobacco that was presented, and give it to another. This dance is followed by a feast ; but I do not see well from whence it derives its name unless it be from the shields, on which they strike, which are covered with bulls' hides.

"There are dances which are prescribed by the physicians for the cure of the sick, but they are generally very lascivious. There are some that are entirely for discussion, that have no relation to anything. They are almost always in circles, to the sound of the drum and the *chichicoue*, the men apart from the women. The men dance with their arms in their hands, and though they never take hold of each other, they never break the circle. As to what I said before, that they are always in time, it is difficult thing to believe, that the music of the savages was but two or three notes which are repeated continually. This makes their feasts very tiresome to a European after he has seen them once, because they last a long time, and you hear always the same thing"

THE DANCE OF THE POTOOSI, OR CALUMET, AMONG
THE TONGUSI, CORIAKS, KAMSCHADALES,
YAKUTI, AND OKOTSI.

Abernethy, in speaking of the Potoosi dance among the Tongusi, gives us the following description of it: "On the night previous to their departure, a very singular entertainment is given by the chief, in which the *Potoosi*, or the *sacred pipe*, is introduced, for the purpose of binding the warriors to fidelity and bravery. The *Potoosi*, among all the Tongusian tribes, is considered a sacred instrument, which their fathers received from the *Great Spirit*, or *God of War*, to make vows by fuming tobacco. On the evening, therefore, before they depart, the warriors are summoned to appear before the chief, in their martial uniforms. The women also attend, and they are attired in their richest robes. Having formed a circle, the musicians stand in the midst. Their music is very simple; for it consists only of two instruments, which produce neither harmony nor order. The dancers, however, keep time to the cadence of the music. This dance, as usual, was a ring or circle in which they moved roundwards incessantly, till it was announced to seat themselves on the ground to partake of the feast, the principal dish of which consists of the flesh of a *white dog*. Before the dog is put into the *kettle*, they perform several ceremonies in offering him while alive to the *Great Spirit*; for they imagine that no animal is more pleasing, in a sacrifice, than a white dog. All their feasts are supplied with the flesh of the dog, and they might as well be called *sacrifices as feasts*; because the offering of the dog to their Supreme Deity always precedes the feast. After the dogs are consumed, they rise and renew their dances. The first thing, however, after the feast, is the offering of the *Potoosi*, to the *Great Spirit*, by the senior chief. The fumes of the pipe are directed upwards towards the *Great Spirit*. This ceremony resembles, in a great measure, the Asiatic offering of *incense*. When the chief imagines that the *Deity* is fully satisfied with this act of adoration, every

warrior in his turn, takes the pipe, which is decorated with various ornaments, and, at every puff, promises to adhere to his commander, and never flee from his enemy. At the same time he relates what he has done in favour of his nation; and he foretells his future achievements. The chief takes the *Potoosi*, a second time, and at every puff he enumerates the various engagements in which he conquered his enemies. The whole assembly then join in applauding his bravery and undaunted spirit. The feast of the *Potoosi* is concluded with the *song of death*, in which they swear vengeance against their enemies. Then they retire to their cabins or huts, to prepare for their departure on the following morning. They have several other dances on various occasions, and to describe them now is not necessary, because the same ceremonies are used almost on every occasion."

Santini, whom we have so often quoted, describes very minutely all their dances; but the observations of Abernethy, will, we hope, suffice to give the reader an idea of them all. Without alluding particularly to the Coriaks, Kamschadales, Yakutsi, and the Okotsi, we shall only say, that dances of a similar nature are common among them as well as the Tongusi.

SACRIFICES AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The North American Indians make to all their spirits different sorts of offerings, which may be called sacrifices. They throw into the lakes tobacco or birds that have had their throats cut, to render the gods of the waters propitious to them. In honour of the sun, and sometimes also of the inferior spirits, they throw into the fire a part of every thing they use, and which they acknowledge to hold from them. It is sometimes out of gratitude, but oftener through interest. Their acknowledgment is also interested; for these people have no sentiments of the heart towards their

deities. There have been observed also on certain occasions some libations, and all this is accompanied with invocations in mysterious terms, which the savages could never explain to the Europeans, either that in fact they have no meaning, or that the sense of them has not been transmitted by tradition with the words; perhaps also they keep it as a secret from us.

We learn also that collars of porcelain, tobacco, ears of maize, skins, and whole animals, especially dogs, were found on the sides of difficult and dangerous ways, on rocks, or by the side of the falls; and these were so many offerings made to the spirits which presided in these places. We have already said that a dog is the common victim which they offer them; sometimes they hang him up alive on a tree by the hind feet, and let him die there raving mad. The war feast, which is always of dogs, may very well pass for a sacrifice. In short, they render much the same honours to the mischievous spirits, as to those that are beneficent, when they have anything to fear from their malice.

SACRIFICES AMONG THE TONGUSI.

"These tribes," says Abernethy, "have their sacrifices as well as the Jews, but in a very inferior manner; because when they make an offering to a deity, it is not on account of their reverence or veneration towards that being. They imagine that if they sacrifice the *dog*, or any other animal which is agreeable to the spirits, they can conquer their enemies in battle, and shun all those calamities which are inflicted on the human species in this world. As for a future state, they imagine that no person can be unhappy. By offering sacrifices to the malevolent *spirits*—for it is seldom that they worship the benevolent *deity*—they think that they can avert his wrath.

"I have often observed that the Tongusi, of all the other tribes of Siberia, are those who pay the greatest attention

to this religious ceremony; for whenever they labour under diseases, or scarcity of food, they first offer a sacrifice and then set out to hunt, fully convinced of their success. Their mode of offering sacrifices is attended with many ceremonies which are performed by their bravest warriors. Having lighted a fire, they take a dog, and sometimes a bear, which they suspend above the fire by several poles, till the animal is totally consumed. It is customary among some Tongusian tribes to dance during the sacrifice; there are others, however, who stand silent and motionless till the offering is completed; then a dance commences which lasts for several hours, as if rejoicing for appeasing the angry *demon*. Before they go to battle, they never fail to make an offering. Then all their villages are assembled and they form a kind of procession. The women walk one after another, till they arrive at the spot where the sacrifice is to be offered. This place is generally some elevated ground, at some distance from the village. The warriors march in full uniform, with their faces painted. Before the *dog* is committed to the flames, they whisper something in his ear, telling him, as I have been told, to obtain for them the assistance of the *great* or *benevolent* spirit in battle, and prevent the *evil* or *mischievous* one from punishing them."

Santini says that the Coriaks and Kamschadales offer sacrifices of the same kind, and in the same manner. Elphinstone observed sacrifices among other Siberian tribes. La Roche, in describing the religion of certain tribes in Tartary, says, that dogs, bears, and sometimes sheep are offered by them to their *Great Spirit*.

FUNERAL RITES AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

"As soon as the sick person dies," says the Bishop of Meaux, "the place is filled with mournful cries; and this lasts as long as the family is able to defray the expense,

for they must keep an open table all this time. The dead body, dressed in the finest robe, with the face painted, the arms and all that belonged to the deceased by his side, is exposed at the door of the cabin in the posture it is to be laid in the tomb; and this posture is the same in many places, as that of the child in the mother's womb. The custom of some nations is for the relations of the deceased to fast to the end of the funeral; and all this interval is passed in tears and cries, in treating their visitors, in praising the dead, and in mutual compliments. In other places they hire women to weep, who perform their duty punctually; they sing, they dance, they weep without ceasing, always keeping time; but these demonstrations of a borrowed sorrow do not prevent what nature requires from the relations of the deceased. They carry the body without ceremony to the place of interment; at least, I find no mention about it in any relation; but when it is in the grave, they take care to cover it in such a manner, that the earth does not touch it; it lies in a little cave lined with skins, much richer and better adorned than their cabins. Then they set up a post on the grave, and fix on it everything that may show the esteem they had for the deceased. They sometimes put on it his portrait and everything that may serve to show to passengers who he was, and the finest actions of his life. They carry fresh provisions to his tomb every morning; and as the dogs and other beasts do not fail to reap the benefit of it, they are willing to persuade themselves that these things have been eaten by the souls of the dead.

"It is not strange after this, that the savages believe in apparitions; and in fact, they tell stories of this sort all manner of ways. I knew a poor man, who, by continually hearing these stories, fancied that he had always a troop of ghosts at his heels; and as people took a pleasure to increase his fears, it made him grow foolish; nevertheless, at the end of a certain number of years, they take as much care to efface out of their minds the remembrance of those

they have lost, as they did before to preserve it ; and this is solely to put an end to the grief they felt for their loss.

“ Some missionaries one day asking their new converts, why they deprived themselves of their most necessary things in favour of the dead. They replied, ‘ It is not only to show the love we bore to our relations, but also that we may not have before our eyes, in the things they used, objects which would continually renew our grief.’ It is also for this reason that they forbear, for some time, to pronounce their names ; and if any other of the family bears the same name, he quits it all the time of mourning. This is probably also the reason why the greatest outrage that can be done a person, is to say to him, *your father is dead, or, your mother is dead.*

“ When any one dies in the time of hunting, they expose his body on a very high scaffold, and it remains there till the departure of the troop, who carry it with them to the village. There are some nations who practice the same with regard to all their dead ; and I have seen the same practised by the *Missisaguez* of Detroit. The bodies of those who die in war are burned, and their ashes brought back to be laid in the burying-place of their fathers. These burying places, among the most settled nations, are places like our churchyards, near the village. Others bury their dead in the woods, at the foot of a tree, or dry them and keep them in chests till the festival of the dead, which I shall presently describe ; but in some places they observe an odd ceremony for those that are drowned or are frozen. Before I describe it, it is proper to tell that the savages believe, when these accidents happen, that the spirits, are incensed, and that they are not appeased till the body is found. Then the preliminaries of tears, dances, songs, and feasts being ended, they carry the body to the usual burying-place ; or if they are too far off, to the place where it is to remain till the festival of the dead : they dig there a very large pit, and they make a fire in it ; then, some young persons approach the corpse, cut out the flesh in the parts which had been marked out by a master of the ceremonies, and throw

them into the fire with the bowels; then they place the corpse, thus mangled, in the place destined for it. During the whole operation, the women, especially the relations of the deceased, go continually round those that are at it, exhorting them to acquit themselves well of their employment, and put beads of porcelain in their mouths, as we would give sugar-plums to children to entice them to do what we desire.

"The interment is followed by presents, which they make to the afflicted family; and this is called *covering the dead*. These presents are made in the name of the village and sometimes in the name of the nation. Allies also make presents at the death of considerable persons. But first the family of the deceased make a great feast in his name, and this feast is accompanied with games, for which they propose prizes, which are performed in this manner. A chief throws on the tomb three sticks about a foot long; a young man, a woman, and a maiden, take each of them, and those of their age, their sex, and condition, strive to wrest it out of their hands. Those with whom the sticks remain are conquerors. There are also races, and they sometimes shoot at a mark. In short, by a custom which we find established in all the times of Pagan antiquity, a ceremony entirely mournful is terminated by songs and shouts of victory.

"It is true that the family of the deceased take no part in these rejoicings; they observe even in his cabin after the obsequies, a mourning, the laws of which are very severe; they must have their hair cut, and their faces blacked: they must stand with their faces wrapped in a blanket; they must not look at any person, nor make any visits, nor eat anything hot; they must deprive themselves of all pleasures, wear scarcely anything on their bodies, and never warm themselves at the fire, even in the depth of winter.

"After this deep mourning, which lasts two years, they begin a second more moderate, which lasts two or three years longer, and which may be softened by little and little; but they dispense with nothing that is prescribed, without the consent of the cabin to which the widow or widower

belongs. These permissions, as well as the end of the mourning always cost a feast.

" The first and often the only compliment which the Indians make to a friend, and even to a stranger whom they receive in their cabins, is to weep for those of his own relations, whom he has lost since they saw him last. They put their hands on his head, and they give him to understand who it is they weep for, without mentioning his name. All this is founded in nature and has nothing in it of barbarity. But what I am going to speak of does not appear to be any way excusable; that is, the behaviour of these people towards those who die by a violent death, even though it is in war, and for the service of their country.

" They have got a notion that their souls, in the other world, have no communication with the others; and on this principle they burn them, or bury them directly, sometimes even before they expire. They never lay them in the common burying-place, and they give them no part in the great ceremony which is renewed every eight years among some nations, and every ten years among the Huron and Iroquois.

" They call it the *festival of the dead*, or the *feast of souls*; and here follows what I could collect that was most uniform and remarkable concerning this ceremony, which is the most singular, and the most celebrated of the religion of the savages. They begin by fixing a place for the assembly to meet in; then they choose the king of the feast, whose duty it is to give orders for everything, and to invite the neighbouring villages. The day appointed being come, all the savages assemble, and go in procession two and two to the burying-place. There every one labours to uncover the bodies; then they continue some time contemplating in silence a spectacle so capable of exciting the most serious reflections. The women first interrupt this religious silence, by sending forth mournful cries, which increase the horror with which every one is filled.

" This first act being ended they take up the carcasses, and pick up the dry and separated bones, and put them in

parcels; and those who are ordered to carry them, take them on their shoulders. If there are any bodies not entirely decayed, they wash them; they clean away the corrupted flesh, and all the filth, and wrap them in new robes of beaver skins; then they return in the same order they came; and when the procession is come into the village, every one lays in his cabin the burden he was charged with. During the march, the women continue their lamentations, and the men show the same signs of grief as they did on the day of the death of those whose remains they have been taking up. This second act is followed by a feast in each cabin, in honour of the dead of the family.

“ The following days they make public feasts; and they are accompanied, as on the day of the funeral, with dances, games, and combats, for which there are also prizes proposed. From time to time they make certain cries, which they call the *cries of the souls*. They make presents to strangers, among whom there are sometimes some who come an hundred and fifty leagues, and they receive presents from them. They also take advantage of these opportunities to treat of common affairs, or for the election of a chief. Every thing passes with a great deal of order, decency, and modesty; and every one appears to entertain sentiments suitable to the principal action. Every thing, even in the dances and songs, carries an air of sadness and mourning; and one can see in all hearts pierced with the sharpest sorrow. The most insensible would be affected at the sight of this spectacle. After some days are past, they go again in procession to the great council room, built for the purpose; they hang up against the walls the bones and the carcasses in the same condition they took them from the burying-place, and they lay forth the presents designed for the dead. If among these sad remains there happens to be those of a chief, his successor gives a great feast in his name, and sings his song. In many places the bones are carried from village to village, and they are received every where with great demonstrations of grief and tenderness

Whithersoever they go, they receive presents. Lastly, they carry them to the place where they are to remain always. But I forgot to mention that all these marches are made to the sound of their instruments, accompanied with their best voices, and that every one in these marches keeps time to the music.

"This last and common burial-place is a great pit, which they line with their finest furs, and the best things they have. The presents designed for the dead are set by themselves. By degrees as the procession arrives, each family ranges themselves on a kind of scaffold set up round the pit; and the moment the bones are laid in, the women renew their weeping and wailing. Then all present go down into the pit, and every one takes a little of the earth, which they keep carefully. They fancy it procures luck at play. The bodies and the bones, ranged in order, are covered with entire new furs, and over that with bark, on which they throw stones, wood, and earth. Every one returns to his own cabin; but the women come for several days after, and pour *Sagamitty* on the place."

FUNERAL RITES AMONG THE CORIAKS, TONGUSI, AND KAMSCHADALES.

We are told by several travellers that mourning for the dead is common among the various tribes that inhabit Siberia; and that they have their funeral ceremonies, which are very ridiculous. They meet their fate with a degree of fortitude which is inspired by hopes of being rendered more happy after their departure from this world. Whenever the dying person breathes his last, they dress the corpse in the finest robes they can procure. Their presents to the deceased are also innumerable. In carrying their dead bodies to the grave, women are hired to weep, mourn, and sing melancholy airs. The corpses are, however, exposed for several days on scaffolds before they are

interred. "The Tongusi," says Abernethy, "evinced a great deal of tenderness at the death of any of their family; their mourning sometimes lasts for a whole year. For several days they are commonly exposed on scaffolds within their cabins, and at other times near the place of interment. They bring them presents and food, which is consumed, they imagine, by their spirits. The Coriaks have a practice of embalming their dead in caves where the earth does not touch the corpse. I have seen among them several bodies in a good state of preservation, after being dead for several years. In accompanying the remains of the deceased to the burying ground, the women form a procession, in which they walk one after another; but these are the women who are hired to weep and sing; the rest move onwards irregularly. All the brave deeds of the deceased are enumerated publicly by a *crier*, who is generally a near relation of him, whose memory and fame he endeavours to perpetuate. The Kamschadales use almost the same ceremonies, but among them the female mourners paint themselves black, and remain so for ten days, during which time they reside with the friends and relations of those whose death they lament." Santini and La Roche say that the Tongusi and Coriaks mourn for the deceased for a considerable time; that the pits and caves where the dead are to be carried, must first be fumigated or incensed by burning rosin or some dried aromatic herb. La Roche observed in Kamschatka several women who sang, wept, and danced at the interment of their dead. Santini was informed that it was customary among the Tongusi and Coriaks to bury, along with the dead, everything that was dear to them while alive, especially their arms and family distinctions.

THE FESTIVAL OF DREAMS AMONG THE NORTH
AMERICAN INDIANS.

We know not if religion has ever had any share in what they generally call the festival of dreams, and which the Iroquois, and some others, have more properly called *the turning of the brain*. This is a kind of *Bacchanal*, which commonly lasts fifteen days, and is celebrated about the end of winter.

They act at this time all kinds of fooleries, and every one runs from cabin to cabin, disguised in a thousand ridiculous ways; they break and upset everything, and nobody dares to contradict them. Whoever chooses not to be present in such a confusion, nor be exposed to all the tricks they play, must keep out of the way. If they meet any one, they desire him to guess their dreams, and if they do, it is at their expense, for he must give the thing he dreamed of. When it ends, they return everything, they make a great feast, and they only think how to repair the sad effects of the masquerade, for most commonly it is no trifling business; because this is also one of those opportunities which they wait for, without saying anything, to give those a good drubbing who, they think, have done them any wrong. When the festival, however is over, all injuries are forgotten.

The following description of one of these festivals is found in the journal of one of the missionaries, who was forced to be a spectator of it, much against his will, at *Onontague*:

"The approaching festival was proclaimed on the 22nd of February, by the elders, with as much gravity as if it had been a weighty affair of state. They had no sooner re-entered their cabin, than there came forth instantly, men, women, and children, almost quite naked, though the weather was excessively cold. They entered directly into all the cabins, then they went raving about on every side, without knowing whither they went or what they would

have One would take them for people who were drunk or mad.

"Many returned immediately to their cabins after uttering some howlings. Others were resolved to make use of the privilege of the festival, during which they are reputed to be out of their senses, and of consequence not responsible for what they do, and revenge their private quarrels. They do so to some purpose, for they threw whole pails full of water on some people, and this water, which froze immediately, was enough to chill them with cold. Others they covered with hot ashes, or all sorts of filth; others took lighted coals, or firebrands, and threw them at the head of the first they met; others broke every thing in the cabins, falling on those they bore a grudge to, and beating them unmercifully. To be freed from this persecution, one must guess dreams, which often no one can form any conception of.

"A missionary and his companion were often on the point of being more than witnesses of these extravagancies; one of these madmen went into a cabin, where he had seen them take a shelter at the first. Being disappointed by their flight, he cried out that they must guess his dream, and satisfy it immediately: as they were too long about it, he said, 'I must kill a *Frenchman*.' Immediately the master of the cabin threw him a French coat, to which this madman gave several stabs.

"Then he that had thrown the coat, growing furious in his turn, said he would revenge the Frenchman, and burn the whole village down to the ground. He began, in fact, by setting fire to his own cabin, where the scene was first acted; and when all the rest were gone out, he shut himself up in it. The fire which he had lighted up in several places, did not yet appear on the outside, when one of the missionaries came to the door. He was told what had happened, and was afraid that his host could not get out, though he might be willing; then he broke open the door and laid hold of the savage, turned him out and extinguished the fire. His host, nevertheless, ran through the village, crying out that he would burn it. They threw a dog to

him, in hopes that he would glut his fury on that animal; he said it was not enough to repair the affront he had received by the killing of a *Frenchman* in his cabin. They threw him a second dog, which he cut in pieces. His fury was then instantly over.

"This man had also a brother who would play his part. He dressed himself up nearly as painters represent the satyrs, covering himself from head to foot with the leaves of *maize*. He equipped two women like real *Megarai*, their heads blacked, their hair dishevelled, a wolf's skin over their bodies, and a club in their hands. Thus attended, he goes into all the cabins, yelling and howling with all his strength. He climbs on the roof and plays as many tricks there as the most skilful dancer could perform; then he made most terrible outcries, as if he had got some great hurt; then he came down and marched on gravely, preceded by his two *Bacchantes*, who, growing furious in their turn, overset with their clubs everything that met them in their way. They were no sooner out of this frenzy, or tired with acting their parts, than another woman took their place and entered the cabin in which were the two missionaries. She was armed with a blunderbuss, which she had just got by having her dream guessed. *She sang the war song*, making a thousand imprecations on herself, if she did not bring home some prisoners.

"A warrior followed close after this *Amazon*, with a bow and arrow in one hand, and a bayonet in the other. After he had made himself hoarse with bawling, he then threw himself all at once on a woman, who was standing quietly by, not expecting it, and lifting up his bayonet to her throat, took her by the hair, cut off a handful and went away. Then a juggler appeared, holding a stick in his hand adorned with feathers, by means of which he boasted that he could reveal the most secret things. A savage accompanied him, carrying a vessel I know not of what liquor, which from time to time he gave him to drink; the juggler had no sooner taken it in his mouth, than he spit it out again, blowing on his hands and his stick, and at every

time he explained all the enigmas that were proposed to him.

"Two women came afterwards, and gave to understand that they had some desires, one directly spread a mat on the ground; they guessed that she desired some fish, which were given her. The other had a hoe in her hand, and they judged that she desired a field to cultivate; they carried her out of the village and set her to work. A chief had dreamed, as he said, that he saw two human hearts they could not explain his dream, and at this every body was greatly concerned. It made a great noise, they even prolonged the festival for a day, but all was in vain and he was obliged to make himself easy without. Sometimes there were troops of people that made shamfights; sometimes companies of dancers who acted all sorts of farces. This madness lasted four days, and it appeared that it was out of respect to the two missionaries that they had thus shortened the time.

"But there were as many disorders committed in this space of time, as they used to do in fifteen days; nevertheless they had this regard for the missionaries, that they did not disturb them in their functions, and did not hinder the Christians from discharging themselves of their religious duties. Let this suffice to give the reader some idea concerning their festivals of dreams"

FESTIVAL OF DREAMS AMONG THE TONGUSI, CORIAKS, AND KAMSCHADALES.

Several travellers who visited the north-east parts of Asia mention several festivals, and among them rejoicings called the *Nokoosi* or interpretations of dreams. In a certain season of the year, we are told by *Santini* that all the young people of both sexes among the *Coriaks* assemble in order to guess dreams. These merriments and entertainments, he tells us, continue for several days, during which

time dances, songs, and music, form the principal part of the entertainment. According to Abernethy, they paint and disguise themselves when they go abroad without paying any respect either to morality or decency. Many of them, especially among the Tongusi, says the same author, consider this a favourable opportunity of revenging insults and injuries, because they imagine that they are not known to the sufferer. La Roche compares the *Nokoosi* of the *Kamschadales* with the *Carnivali* of the continent of Europe, which takes place yearly in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and in some parts of France before lent commences. During the celebration of the *Carnivali*, which lasts for fourteen days, those who join it masquerade themselves and are at full liberty to play all tricks with impunity which cannot be considered criminal. The *Kamschadales*, as well as the North American Indians, may do the same without punishment; because, according to their custom, every person makes himself as foolish as he can. Abernethy speaks of his having distinguished himself on one of these occasions among the *Coriaks* for the sole purpose, as he himself tells us, of saving his life; because he considered them actually deranged, and consequently his life in danger on account of being a stranger and a foreigner. Santini found himself in the same predicament among some tribes of the Tongusi, and would most likely have been grossly insulted, had not his converts, the Tongusian princes, interfered in his behalf. Without describing the barbarous scenes which these travellers witnessed during these festivals among certain tribes in north-east Asia, we assure our reader that they were not much different from those which have been observed among the North American Indians on similar occasions.

THE GAME OF THE DISH, OR OF LITTLE BONES AMONG
THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The *game of the dish*, which they also call the game of the *little bones*, is only played by two persons, each has six or eight little bones, which resemble apricot stones in their shape and bigness. On viewing them closely, however, a person can perceive six unequal surfaces, the two principal of which are painted, one black and the other white, inclining to yellow.

They make them jump up, by striking the ground, or the table, with a round and hollow dish, which contains them, and which they twist round first. When they have no dish, they throw the bones up in the air with their hands; if, on falling, they come all of one colour, he who plays wins five. There is forty up, and they subtract the numbers gained by the adverse party. Five bones of the same colour win, but one for the first time, but the second time they win the game, while a less number wins nothing.

He that wins the game continues playing. The loser gives his place to another, who is named by the markers of his side; for they make parties at first, and often the whole village is concerned in the game; oftentimes also one village plays against another. Each party chooses a marker; but he withdraws when he pleases, which never happens, but when his party loses. At every throw, especially if it happens to be decisive, they make great shouts. The players appear like people possessed with an evil spirit, and the spectators are not more calm. They all make a thousand contortions, talk to the bones, load the spirit of the adverse party with imprecations, and the whole village echoes with howlings. If all this does not recover them back, the losers may put off the party till the next day; it costs them only a small treat to the company.

Then they prepare to return to the engagement, each

invoking his genius, and throwing some tobacco in the fire to his honour. They ask him, above all things, for lucky dreams. As soon as day appears they go again to play; but if the losers fancy that the goods in their cabins made them unlucky, the first thing they do is to change them all. The great parties commonly last five or six days, and often continue all night. In the mean time, as all the persons present, at least those who are concerned in the game, are in an agitation that deprives them of reason, as they quarrel and fight, which never happens among the savages, but on these occasions, and in drunkenness, one may judge, if when they have done playing, they do not want rest.

The Indians are so superstitious, that these parties of play are often made by order of the physicians or at the request of the sick. There needs no more for this purpose than the dream of the one or the other. This dream is always taken for the order of some spirit, and then they prepare themselves for play with a great deal of care. They assemble for several nights to try and to see who has the luckiest hand. They consult their *Genii*, they fast, the married persons observe continence; and all this to obtain a favourable dream. Every morning they relate what dreams they have had, and all those things which they dreamed of, were those which they thought lucky. They make a collection of all, and put them into little bags which they carry about with them. If any one has the reputation of being lucky, that is in the opinion of these people, of having a familiar spirit more powerful, or more inclined to do good, they never fail to make him keep near him who holds the dish. They even go to a great way sometimes to fetch him; and if, through age or any infirmity, he cannot walk, they will carry him on their shoulders.

They have often pressed the missionaries to be present at these games, as they believe their guardian *Genii* are more powerful. It happened one day in a Huron village, that a sick person having sent for a juggler, this quack

prescribed the game of the dish, and appointed a village, at some distance from the sick person's residence, to play at. They immediately sent to ask the leave of their chief; it was granted, and they played. When the game was ended, the sick person returned many thanks to the players for having cured her, as she said. But there was nothing of truth in all this; on the contrary, she was worse.

The ill humour of this woman and her relations fell on the missionaries, who had refused to assist at the game notwithstanding all the importunities they used to engage them; and in their anger for the little complaisance they showed them on this occasion, they told them by way of reproach, that since their arrival in this country the *Genii* of the savages had lost their power. Such are the observations of a French missionary who resided a long time among the Hurons.

GAME OF THE PATOONI AMONG THE KAMSCHADALES.

The game of the Patooni, which La Roche briefly describes, was, from every appearance, originally the same as that of the *little bones* among the American Indians, although in Kamschatka sticks were substituted for bones. "It is surprising," says La Roche, "to witness the simplicity and superstition of some of these people while they play some games. Before they set out to hunt, they frequently form a party to play the *Patooni*, which consists in throwing up in the air small sticks about the size of an orange, with four sides, and resembling the *dice* of the Europeans, because each side has a certain number. He who has the greatest number upwards, when they fall on the ground, is conqueror, and expects to be the most successful in the chase. It is considered, therefore, a great favour to belong to the winner's party when they separate themselves into different companies, because they imagine

that they cannot be utterly disappointed while they are the associates of him who is to kill the most."

Abernethy observed this and other frivolous games, which he did not deem worthy of any notice. Santini, in speaking of a certain game which he does not describe, says, that the Tongusi, when they played, resembled madmen more than rational beings, from the way in which their feelings were excited.

THE NAMING OF CHILDREN AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

This ceremony is performed at a feast where no persons are present but those of the same sex with the child that is to be named. While they are eating, the child is upon the knees of the father or mother, who continually recommend it to the spirits, especially to that which is to be its guardian genius; for every person has their own, but not at their birth. They never make new names; each family has a certain number, which they take by turns, sometimes also they change their names as they grow up, and there are some names which they cannot go by after a certain age; this, however, is not the custom every where. They never call a man by his proper name, when they talk to him in common discourse; this, they imagine, would be impolite. They always give him the quality he has with respect to the person that speaks to him; but when there is between them no relation or affinity, they use the term of brother or uncle, nephew or cousin, according to each other's age, or according to the value they have for the person whom they address.

Farther, it is not so much to render the names immortal, that they revive them, as to engage those to whom they are given, either to imitate the brave actions of their predecessors, or to revenge them if they have been killed or burned, or, lastly, to comfort and help their families. Thus

a woman who has lost her husband, or her son, and finds herself without the support of any person, delays as little as she can to transfer the name him she mourns for, to some person capable of supplying his place. They change their names on many other occasions—to give the particulars of which would take up too much time. There needs no more for this purpose than a dream, or the order of a physician, or some such trifling cause.

THE NAMING OF CHILDREN AMONG THE KAMSCHADALES.

“Si prepara,” says, Santini, “dai Coriaki, un banchetto, quando vogliono nominare i fanciulli. Se sarà una fanciulla, bisogna che tutta la compagnia, eccetto il padre, sia composta di donne, e d'uomini solamente, eccetto il padre, madre, se sarà un ragazzo. Ogni famiglia ritiene gli stessi nomi che avevano ricevuti da loro antenati. Sovente volte però, quando una vedova è maritata un'altra volta, il nuovo marito prende il nome di lui chi è morto. I vecchi si chiamano dai giovani, i loro padri, e quelli della medesima età, i loro fratelli.”

According to Santini, the Coriaks and other tribes of Siberia, prepare a feast, when they are to name a child. If it be a boy, the ceremony is performed in the presence of men alone, excepting the mother of the child, and in the presence of women only, excepting the father, if it be a girl. Every family have retained the names which have been delivered down to them by their ancestors; sometimes, however, when a widow is married again, the name of the deceased is transferred to her new husband. Old men are generally by the young called *fathers*, and those of the same age *brothers*. La Roche tells us that the children of some Tartar tribes, who had been converted to Christianity, were allowed to go only a week by the names which they received at the baptismal font; because they dreamed that the spirits of their fathers were offended at the changing of their names.

JUGGLERS AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

These jugglers, according to the Bishop of Meaux, make a profession of corresponding only with what they call the beneficial *Genii*, and who boast of knowing by their means whatever passes in the most distant countries, and whatever shall come to pass in the most distant ages. They pretend to discover the use and nature of the most hidden diseases, and to have the secret of curing them; to discern in the most intricate affairs what resolution it is best to take; to explain the most obscure dreams; to obtain success in the most difficult undertakings, and to render the gods propitious to warriors and hunters. These pretended good *Genii* are, like all the *Pagan deities*, real devils, who receive homages that are due only to the true God, and whose deceits are still more dangerous than those of the *evil Genii*, because they contribute more to keep their worshippers in blindness.

It is certain, that among their agents the boldest are more respected. With a little artifice, therefore, they easily impose on those who are brought up in superstition. Although they might have seen the birth of these impostors, if they take a fancy to give themselves a supernatural birth, they find people, who believe them on their word, as much as if they had seen them come down from heaven, and who take it for a kind of enchantment and illusion, that they thought them born at first like other men. Their artifices are, in general, so gross, and so common, that there are none but fools and children who are imposed upon by them. But when they act as physicians, their skill is never doubted: for the greatest credulity is found in every country, concerning the recovery of health.

It has been asserted by persons whose words could not be suspected, that when these impostors shut themselves up in their stoves to sweat, and this is one of their most common preparations to perform their tricks, they differ very little from the *Pythonesses*, as the poets have represented them on

the *Tripod*. They are seen to become convulsed, and possessed with enthusiasm, to acquire tones of the voice, and to do actions which appear to be beyond the strength of nature.

It is also asserted, that they suffer much on these occasions; so that there are some who do not readily engage, even when they are well paid, to give themselves up in this manner to the spirit that agitates them.

After coming out of these violent sweats, they go and throw themselves into cold water, even when it is frozen, without receiving any damage. This is a matter which physic cannot account for; however, it is certain that there is nothing supernatural in it.

THE PONOMOOSI OR PROPHETS AMONG THE KAMSCHADALES, CORIAKS, &c.

We are assured by Santini, Abernethy, and La Roche that several tribes in the north-east parts of Asia have their prophets whom they call *Ponomoosi*. This deceitful order, they tell us, predict their fate in battle and their success in the chase; and this knowledge they pretend to have received from their *deities*. They retire into the forest, where they fast for several days. During this time they beat a drum, cry, howl, sing, and smoke. This preparation is accompanied with so many furious actions that one would take them for evil spirits.

These fortune-tellers are visited at night by their relations, who bring them intelligence of every thing that happens in the villages during their absence. By these means they are enabled, on their return from their dens, to impose upon the credulous; because the first part of their prophecy consists of giving an account of all those who married, died, and returned from the chase since they departed. They seldom fail in giving a correct statement of these and other things, as their private informants are

equally interested in the success of their prophecy, from an expectation of being remunerated.

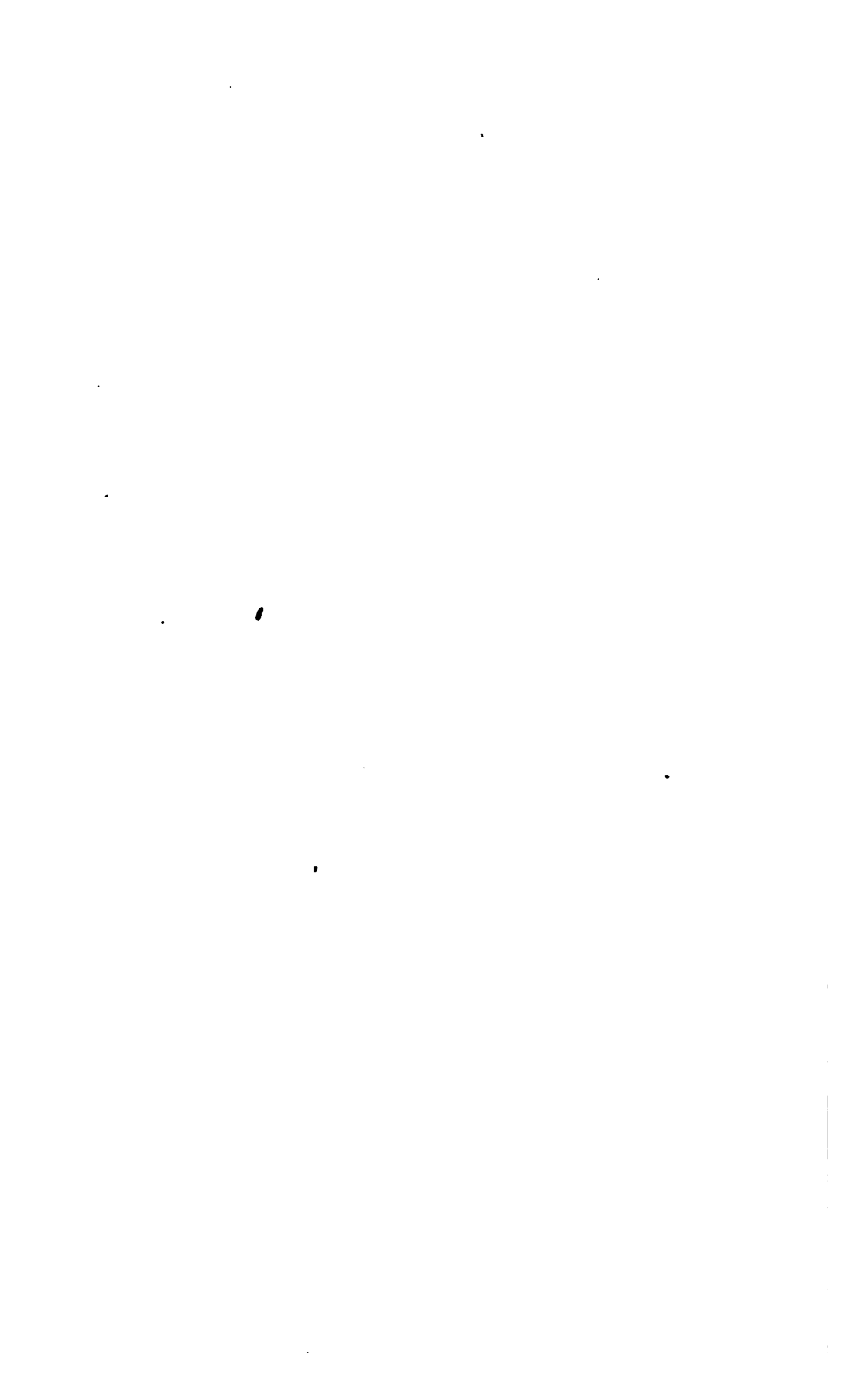
"The *Ponomoosi* of the Coriaks," says Abernethy, "are an inferior order of priests, who declare the will of their *deities*, and act as their interpreters; but in offering sacrifices, the *Ponomoosi* are never their priests. Their chief employment is to practice physic, in which they are sometimes successful, and to foretell the consequence of their wars and the chase. They practice physic on principles founded on the knowledge of simples, on experience, and on circumstances, as they do in other countries. To this knowledge they always join a great deal of superstition and imposture."

The following account of a conjurer is given us by Captain Lyon. This is also another sort of impostors, no less ridiculous than the former, and differing merely in name:

"All light being excluded, the sorcerer began chanting with great vehemence. He then, as far as I could perceive, began turning himself rapidly round, and in a loud, powerful voice vociferated for Tornga (the name of his familiar spirit) with great impatience, at the same time blowing and snorting like a walrus. His noise, impatience, and agitation, increased every moment, and he at length seated himself on the deck, varying his tones, and making a rustling with his clothes. Suddenly, the voice seemed smothered, and was so managed as to sound as if retreating beneath the deck, each moment becoming more distant, and ultimately giving the idea of being many feet below the cabin, when it ceased entirely. His wife now informed me, that the conjurer had dived under the ship, and that he would send up Tornga. Accordingly in about a minute, a distant blowing was heard, very slow in approaching, and a voice, which differed from that we had at first heard, was at times mingled with the blowing, until at length both sounds became distinct, and the old women told me Tornga was come to answer my questions. I accordingly asked several questions of the sagacious spirit, to each of which I received an answer by two loud slaps on the deck, which I



AN INDIAN CHIEF.



was given to understand were favourable. A very hollow, yet powerful voice, certainly much different from that of the conjurer's, now chanted for some time; a jumble of hisses, groans, shouts, and gobbling like a turkey, succeeded in rapid order, when the spirit asked permission to retire. The voice then gradually sank from our hearing as at first and a very indistinct hissing succeeded, (in its advance it sounded like the tone produced by the wind on the base chord of an Eolian harp,) this was soon changed to a rapid hiss like that of a rocket, and the conjurer with a yell announced his return."

Santini tells us that prophets of the same kind are held in great veneration among different tribes in Tartary; but that they do not use so many ridiculous ceremonies in their predictions.

ORATORS AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

Among the Indians every tribe and every village have their *orators* as well as *priests*, *physicians*, and *jugglers*. In the public councils and in the general assemblies they have a right to plead the cause of criminals and plaintiffs. An European would scarcely believe their fluency of speech and the loftiness of their ideas. They *speak* for a long time and to the purpose. Nothing can be more pleasing than to witness the interest which the *orator* takes in defending those who employ him. On some occasions the women employ an *orator* who speaks in their names, if they imaginé that their liberties are encroached on.

No person would think that the Indians in their original state, when they had no possessions, either public or private, nor any ambition to extend their power, should have so many affairs to be thus adjusted. It is true, that the Indians, as well as the rest of the human family negotiated and carried on a kind of trafic among themselves, and especially with the Europeans since they became acquaint-

ed with each other. Under such circumstances, therefore, we need not feel astonished that they had also their courts of justice. They had, besides, some new treaties to conclude, to renew offers of service and mutual civility, to court alliances, and to join invitations in making war. Any business of this description, we are told, was conducted with dignity, great attention, and ability.

ORATORS AMONG SEVERAL ASIATIC TRIBES.

"I have seen no tribe in Siberia," says Abernethy, "who had not their councils, and courts of justice, with their orators, and public pleaders, who are by them called *Periotsi-Kalosi*, that is, *men of justice*. The orators of the *Makouri*, a tribe of the Tongusian nation, displayed no small degree of talents and eloquence on a certain occasion when a young man, the son of their respective chief, appeared before one of their courts of justice, accused of having murdered his uncle. His own father presided with as much dignity and pomp, as usually attend the judges and courts of more civilized nations. The venerable chief evinced a firm determination to administer justice, even although by the law his son should be put to death, if found guilty. The heads of every family were seated round the chief, whom he addressed briefly in the following manner: 'My brother has been murdered; my son stands before you now, and for you it is to find out whether he is guilty or not. The law of your nation demands blood for blood; because such were the laws of our forefathers.' An orator, tall and grave, fluent and rather eloquent, stood in the centre of the circle and harangued for an hour to defend the young chief; and if I recollect well, he commenced with these words: 'Ponyong is gone to his fathers—he is dead, but not murdered; for who would take the life of him who bore the wounds of fifty battle! His nephew stands before you as if he had spilt the blood of his own

kindred: they say, it is true, that he is the murderer; but who are they that accuse him? Are they not they whose words should not be believed? Have they fought either for you or their country? They never saw the face of an enemy. Has he not fought already? Has he not led you to the field? Has he not conducted you victorious from the battle in the absence of his father? If you destroy him you destroy an innocent man, the pride of your nation, and the conqueror of your enemies.' This, however, will suffice as a specimen of Siberian oratory. His feelings appeared to be very much excited as his innumerable but natural gestures expressed. Whether it was through his eloquence, or their regard for the life of the accused, I know not, but the young chief was not found guilty."

La Roche mentions the natural eloquence of the orators of the Kamschadales. Santini says, that among different nations in Tartary and Siberia, orators plead at their councils and courts of justice.

THE COUNCILS AND GOVERNMENT OF VILLAGES, AMONG
THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

We are told by travellers and missionaries that the Indians, even when they were first visited by Europeans, conducted themselves in their assemblies with such prudence, maturity, and ability, as would do honour to the Areopagus of Athens, and the Senate of Rome, in the most flourishing times of those republics. Nothing is concluded hastily, and that self-interest which so often corrupts the senator of civilized nations, never prevailed in the Indians when they discussed affairs which related to the public good. It is also true, that they possess, in the highest degree, the art of concealing their proceedings. For the most part, the glory of the nation, and the motives of honor, are the chief objects at which they aim. But which cannot be excused, is that almost all the time, during which they

sit in council, is consumed in concocting plans in order to revenge them on their enemies; this, however, can only be remedied by the Christian religion, although some Christians are as vindictive as any savages.

"As to what relates to private persons," says the Bishop of Meaux, "and the particular concerns of the village, these things are soon decided among some nations; but among other tribes they are referred to higher courts, and considerable time may elapse before they are settled. A single affair, however trifling it may be, is sometimes a long time under deliberation. Every thing is treated with a great deal of circumspection, and nothing is decided till they have heard the opinion of all their elders. If they have made a present to an elder, in order to secure his vote, they are sure of his interest, when the present is accepted. It was never heard that an Indian failed in an engagement of this kind; but he seldom accepts it, and when he does, he never receives it with both hands. The young people enter early into the knowledge of business, which renders them serious and mature in an age in which they are yet children. This interests them in the public good from their early youth, and inspires them with an emulation which is cherished with great care, and from which there is reason to expect great benefits.

"The most apparent defect of their government is the want of punishment for crimes. But this defect has not the same effect among them which it would inevitably have with European nations. The great spring of our passions, and the principal source of the disorders which most disturb civil society, which is *self-interest*, have scarcely any power over people who never think of laying up riches, and who take little thought for the morrow. They may also be reproached for their manner of bringing up their children. They know not what it is to chastise them. Whilst they are little they say they have no reason; neither are they of opinion that punishment promotes understanding. When they are old enough to reason, they say that they are the

masters of their own actions, and that they are accountable to no person for them.

"In a word, the American Indians are entirely convinced that man is born free; that no power on earth has any right to make any attempts against his liberty; and that nothing can make him amends for its loss. We have even had much pains to undeceive those converted to Christianity on this head, and to make them understand, that in consequence of the corruption of our nature, which is the effect of sin, an unrestrained liberty of doing evil differs little from the necessity of doing it, considering the strength of the inclinations, which carries us to it; and that the law which restrains us, brings us nearer to our first liberty, in seeming to deprive us of it. Happy for them experience does not make them feel in many material articles all the force of this bias, which it produces in other countries. As their knowledge is more confined than ours, so are their desires still more so. Being used only to the simple necessities of life, which Providence has sufficiently provided for them, they have scarcely any idea of superfluity."

COUNCILS AND GOVERNMENT AMONG ASIATIC NATIONS.

"Tutte le nazioni," says Santini, "che si trovano fra i Tongusi, Coriaki, Kamschadali, e molte altre in quella parte d' Asia settentrionale hanno dei conciglii, che sono composti del principe e dei maggiornati. Tutti gli affari che appartengono alla guerra, alla pace, alle regole della caccia, ed altre cose domestiche, sono qui esaminate.

"Quanto al loro governo, ogni cosa e regolata in questi conciglii. Il loro principe ancora regola molte querele da se stesso, senza andar al conciglio. L'omicidio e punito, pero, dagli amici di quello chi era stato ammazzato, e al loro piacere. Molti mi hanno detto che, benché l'omicidio secondo le loro leggi, e proibito sotto pena della vita, l'

assassino e rarissime volte castigato colla morte ; perche credono che l'omicidio era ordinato dallo spirito cattivo."

Here we see, that, according to Santini, all the different tribes among the Tongusi, Coriaks, Kamschadales and many others inhabiting the north-east parts of Asia, have councils composed of the chief and the elders. All the affairs which appertain to war, peace, the chase, and their domestic laws are here discussed and decided.

As to their government, I may say that these councils constitute their legislative assemblies ; for in them their laws civil, and military, are framed and administered. The chief also decides many private quarrels on his own authority without referring to council. The punishment of a murderer is at the mercy of the relations of the murdered. We are often told, that although murder, according to law should be punished with death, the murderer is seldom put to death, because they believe that it was the desire of their *evil Genii*, that such a thing should come to pass.

This has been confirmed by Abernethy and La Roche. Abernethy, however, observes that the Kamschadales and some Tartar tribes have war chiefs who preside at their councils of war, and lead their warriors to battle ; and others who govern their villages, never leaving home. La Roche says, that the chief who remains at home, is the hereditary one ; and that the war chief is elected by the warriors ; however, he observed, that if the hereditary one was of a military and heroic disposition, he would insist upon going to battle. We shall now proceed to give a promiscuous account of the manners and customs of the Indians, according to the journals of the Bishop of Meaux, Rosetti, Claude Allouez, Paul du Ru, M. de St. Cosme, and others, who were the first missionaries that ever preached Christianity to the red men of North America when the Canadas were in the possession of the French. After that, we shall offer a general sketch of the manners and customs of different nations in north-east Asia, which will also in no small degree tend, by their coincidence, to prove the identity of the people—that is to say—that the North American Indians

and these Asiatic tribes were once united. The foregoing comparative views of the different customs of the American and Asiatic tribes will, no doubt, satisfy the reader ; however, as we wish not only to prove an affinity between the inhabitants of both continents, but also to deliver down to posterity their national peculiarities before they disappear, it is but right, we think, to impart as much information as we possibly can.

VARIOUS CUSTOMS AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

SHAPES WHICH THEY GIVE TO THEIR CHILDREN.

There are, on the continent of America, some nations which they call *Flat Heads*. These have their foreheads very flat, and the top of their heads lengthened. This shape is not the work of nature ; it is the mothers who give it to their children as soon as they are born. For this end, they apply to their foreheads and the back part of their heads, two masses of clay, or some other heavy substance, which they bind by little till the skull has taken the shape they desire to give it. It appears that this operation is very painful to the children, whose nostrils emit some whitish matter ; but neither this circumstance nor the cries of these little innocents, alarm their mothers, as they are desirous of procuring them a handsome appearance, without which they cannot conceive how others can be satisfied. It is quite the reverse with certain Algonquins, named *Round Heads* or *Bowl Heads* ; for they make beauty consist in having their heads perfectly round : and mothers take care also very early to give them this shape.

WHAT STRENGTHENS AND SHAPES THE INDIANS SO WELL.

The children of the Indians when they leave the cradle, are not confined in any manner; and as soon as they can crawl upon their hands and feet, they let them go where they will, quite naked, into the water, into the woods, and into the snow, which makes their bodies strong, their limbs very supple, and hardens them against the injuries of the air; but it makes them also subject to distempers of the stomach and lungs which destroy them early. In Summer, they run as soon as they are up to the river, or into the lakes, and continue there a part of the day, playing like fish when it is fine weather at the surface of the water. It is certain that nothing is better than this exercise to make their joints free, and to render them nimble.

THEIR FIRST EXERCISES.

They put a bow and arrow into their hands betimes, and in order to excite in them that emulation, which is the best teacher of the arts, there is no need to set their breakfasts on the top of a tree, as they did with the young *Lacedemonians*. They are all born with that passion for glory that has no need of a spur; and indeed they shoot with a surprising exactness, and with a little practice, they acquire the same dexterity in the use of fire arms. They make them also wrestle, and they pursue this exercise so eagerly, that they would often kill one another, if they were not parted. Those who are defeated, are so enraged at it, that they do not take the least repose till they have their revenge.

IN WHAT CONSISTS THEIR EDUCATION.

In general their fathers and mothers neglect nothing to inspire their children with certain principles of honour, which they preserve all their lives, but which they often abuse ; and in this their whole education consists. When they give their instructions on this head, it is always in an indirect way ; the most common is to relate to them the brave actions of their ancestors, or of their countrymen. These young people are fired at these stories, and are never easy till they find an opportunity of imitating the examples they have made them admire. Sometimes, to correct them for their faults, they use prayers and tears, but never menaces. They would make no impression on spirits, prepossessed with an opinion that no person has a right to use compulsion.

WORKS OF THE WOMEN.

The little works of the women, and which are their common employment in the cabins, are to make thread of the inner membranes of the bark of a tree, which they call the *white wood*. They work it pretty nearly as Europeans do the hemp. The women also dye everything. They make several works with bark, on which they work small figures with porcupine's quills. They make little cups or other utensils of wood ; they embroider robe buck skins, and they knit girdles and garters with the hair or wool of the buffalo.

WORKS OF THE MEN.

As for the men, they glory in their idleness ; and, in reality, they pass above half of their lives in doing nothing, in the persuasion that daily labour disgraces a man, which, they imagine, should be the duty of the women. Man, they

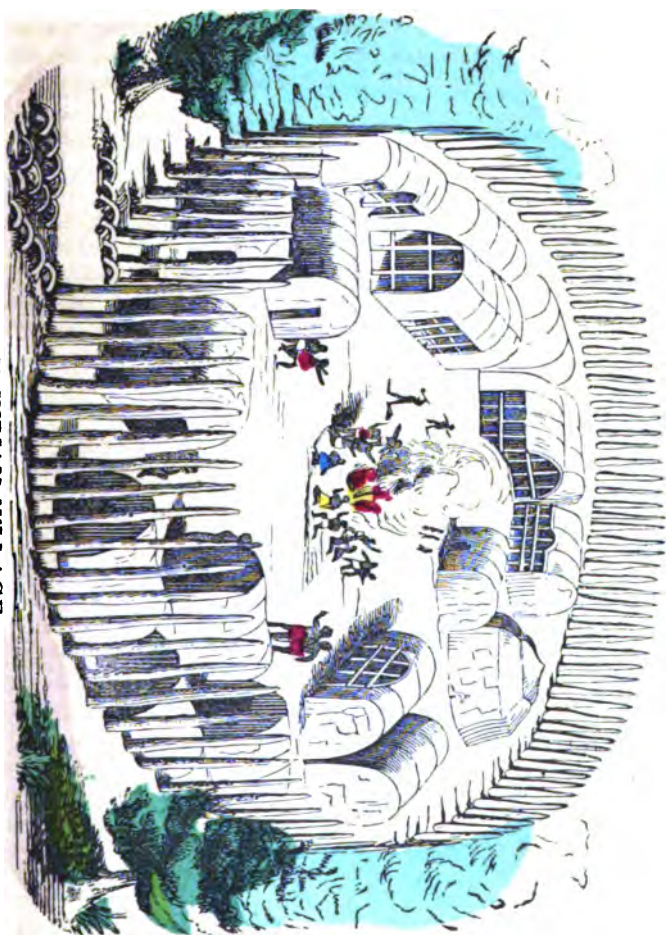
say, is only made for war, hunting, and fishing. Nevertheless it belongs to them to make all things necessary for these three exercises; therefore, making arms, nets, and all the equipage of the hunters and fishers, chiefly belong to them, as well as the canoes and their rigging, the raquets or snow shoes, and the binding and repairing of cabins; but they often oblige the women to assist them in all these things.

THEIR HATCHETS.

These people, before they had been furnished with hatchets and other tools by Europeans, were greatly embarrassed in cutting down their trees and fitting them for use. They burned them at the foot, and to split and cut them they used hatchets made of flints, which did not break, but took up a great deal of time to sharpen. To fix them in the handle, they cut off the head of a young tree, and, as if they would have grafted it, they made a notch in it, into which they thrust the head of the hatchet. After some time the tree, by growing together, kept the hatchet so fixed that it could not come out; then they cut the tree to such a length as they would have the handle.

THE FORM OF THEIR VILLAGES.

Their villages have generally no regular form. The greatest part of the French missionaries represent them as being of a round form and perhaps their authors had not seen any but of this sort. These villages consisted of a heap of cabins without order; some like cart houses, others like tunnels, built of bark, supported by posts, sometimes plastered on the outside with mud in a coarse manner; in a word, built with less art, neatness, and solidity than the



AN INDIAN VILLAGE

cabins, of the beaver. These cabins are about fifteen and twenty feet in breadth, and sometimes a hundred in length; then they contain several fires; for a fire never takes up more than twelve feet. When the floor is not sufficient for all the inhabitants to sleep on, the young people lay on a wide bench, about five or six feet high, that runs the whole length of the cabin. The furniture and provisions are over this, placed on pieces of wood put across under the roof. For the most part there is before the door a sort of porch, where the young people sleep in the summer, and which serves for a wood house in the winter. The doors are nothing but bark, fixed like the umbrella of a window, and they never shut close. These cabins have neither windows nor chimneys; but they leave an opening in the middle of the roof, by which part the smoke goes out; and they are obliged to cover it, when it rains or snows, and then they must extinguish the fire lest they be blinded with smoke.

THEIR NOTION OF THE ORIGIN OF MAN

Nothing is more certain than that the American Indians have an idea of a First Being, but, at the same time, nothing is more obscure. They agree, in general, in making him the First Spirit, the Lord and Creator of the world, but when they are pressed a little on this article, to explain what they mean by the *First Spirit*, we find nothing but odd fancies, fables so ill conceived, systems so little digested, and so little uniformity, that one can say nothing regular on this subject. It has been said that the Sious came much nearer than the rest to what we think of this *first principle*. Almost all the *Algonquin* nations have given the name of the *Great Hare* to the First Spirit; some call him *Michabou*, others *Atahocan*. The *Areskoui* of the *Hurons*, and the *Agrescoue* of the *Iroquois*, is, in the opinion of these people, the Supreme Being and the God of War.

VESTALS AMONG THE INDIANS.

In some memoirs we are told, that many nations of this continent had formerly young maids, who never had any conversation with man, and consequently never married; but we shall neither warrant nor contradict this assertion, because our authors appear somewhat doubtful on this point. It is true, however, that the Indians show us some plants which, they say, are very salutary, but which have no virtue unless they are administered by virgin hands. It has also been related with greater confidence, that among the *Hurons* and *Iroquois* there were *hermits*, who observed continence.

THEIR VOWS. ✓

It cannot be doubted that the vows of the Indians were pure acts of religion, and that they performed them on the same occasions as Christians do. For instance, when they were out of provisions, as it often happened in their journeys and huntings, they promised their *Genii*, to give, in honour of them, a portion of the first beast they should kill to one of their chiefs, and not to eat till they should have performed their promise. If they find this impossible, because the chief is at a great distance, they burn what was designed for him, and make a sort of sacrifice.

THEIR FASTS. ✓

Some have fancied that their fasts were only intended to accustom them to bear hunger, and it may partly be designed for this end; but all the circumstances which accompany them, leave no room to doubt that religion is the principal motive.

THEIR THOUGHTS OF THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL. ✓

When we ask the Indians what they think of their souls, they tell us that they are, as it were, the shadows and the animated images of the body; and it is in consequence of this principle that they believe everything is animated in the universe. Therefore it is entirely by tradition that they hold that our souls do not die. In the different expressions they use to explain themselves on this subject, they often confound the soul with its faculties, and the faculties with their operations, though they very well know how to make the distinction when they choose to speak correctly.

OF THE COUNTRY OF SOULS.)

The Indians believe that the souls, when they die, are to part for ever from their bodies, and that they go to a region which is appointed to be their everlasting abode. This country, say the Indians, is far to the west, and the souls are several months travelling thither. They have also great difficulties to surmount, and they run through great dangers before they go there. They speak especially of a river they have to pass where many have been wrecked; of a dog, from which it is not easy to defend one's self; of a place of torments, where they expiate their faults; of another where the souls of the prisoners of war who had been burned, are tormented.

This notion is the reason why, after the death of these wretches, for fear their souls should stay about the cabins to revenge their sufferings, they very carefully visit all places, striking continually with a stick, and sending forth hideous cries, to drive away these souls.

Without entering into details of other customs peculiar to the Asiatic tribes, to whom we have already so often al-

luded, we need only say, that the different practices which we have latterly described among the North American Indians, are common in Asia, especially among the Coriaks, Kamschadales, and others. Abernethy tells us that among the Coriaks, the mothers give, as they imagine, a decorous form to their children, when infants, by applying three boards, one on the top to give them a flat head, and one on each side to give them a sharp forehead.

Whenever their children arrive at twelve years of age, they are to accompany the hunters into the forest, in order to imbibe while young a desire of excelling in that exercise. He who excels among these youths, receives presents from the village on their return home. Their education consists solely in hearing the brave actions of their forefathers.

The women are generally employed in making dresses, both for themselves and their family; they procure fuel and cultivate the soil; in short, they provide all the furniture which is required in their cabins. The men are generally engaged in war, hunting or fishing. They deem labor beneath the dignity of man. Their hatchets, which they call *Marooski*, were anciently much the same as those which were originally used among the North American Indians: they were made of hard flint: sometimes they were observed to fell huge trees with them. The Tongusi observe fasts; they also perform vows as well as the North American Indians. They believe that the soul shall never die, and that it has to perform a long journey before it reaches its destination.

These, and many other customs among the Asiatics, coincide in a striking manner with the inhabitants of the western continent.

AN INDIAN CHIEF'S ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE
NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

The following journey of an Indian chief across the continent of North America during the middle of last century, will in some measure tend to prove the Asiatic origin of the North American Indians. It has been reduced to writing by M. Le Page du Pratz, and communicated to the Literary Society of Quebec by Andrew Stuart, Esq.

"It has been often conjectured, that America was originally peopled from Siberia or Tartary, and that these Asiatic tribes entered this continent by the way of *Kamschatka*. There are many reasons for believing that the new continent as well as the old has been peopled by different races at different times, and that the last great change which took place, was produced by a great Siberian or Tartar invasion, similar to that which under *Gengiskhan* devastated the Chinese empire, and to that which overwhelmed the Roman empire. The exterminating character of these Asiatic tribes is well known, and it is probable that the whole race which built the forts, the vestiges of which are found between Lake Ontario and the Gulf of Mexico, was utterly destroyed by these Siberian invaders, whose descendants we now see scattered over the North American continent. I do not mean here to enter on the grounds and reasons on which this opinion rests, but beg leave to lay before the public, facts relating to this subject, that seemed to me to be of interest to be found in a work not so generally known as it ought to be; this is the history of *Louisiana* by M. Le Page du Pratz, who gives the following account of the peopling of America: 'When the Natchez retired to this part of America, where I saw they were found to be several nations, or rather the remains of several nations; some on the east, and some on the west of the *Mississippi*. These are the people who are distinguished among the natives by the name of the *Red Men*; and their origin is so much the more obscure, as they have no tradition, nor arts and sciences like the Mexicans, from

whence we might draw some satisfactory inferences. All that I could learn from them was, that they came from the north and the sun setting. This account they uniformly adhered to whenever they gave an account of their origin. This lame tradition did not at all satisfy the desire I had of being informed on this subject. I made great inquiries to know if there was any old wise man among the neighbouring nations, who could give me further intelligence about the origin of the natives. I was happy enough to discover one, named *Moneacht-ape* among the *Yazons*, a nation about forty leagues north of the *Natchez*. This man was remarkable for his understanding and elevation of sentiments; and I may justly compare him to those first Greeks who travelled chiefly into the East to examine the manners and customs of different nations, and to communicate to their fellow citizens on their return, the knowledge which they had acquired. *Moneacht-ape*, indeed, never executed so noble a plan; but he had, however, conceived it. He was by the French called the Interpreter, because he understood several of the North American languages; but the other name which I mentioned was given him by his own nation, and signifies the killer of pain and fatigues. This name was indeed most justly applicable to him; for to satisfy his curiosity he made light of the most dangerous and painful journies in which he had spent several years of his life. He stayed two or three days with me, and on my desiring him to give me an account of his travels, he very readily complied with my request and spoke to the following effect:

“I had lost my wife and all the children I had by her. When I undertook my journey towards the sun rising, I set out from my village contrary to the inclination of all my relations. I went first to the *Chicasaws*, our friends and neighbours. I continued several days among them, to inform myself whether they knew whence we all came, or at least whence they came themselves; they who were our elders, since from them came the language of the country. As they could not inform me, I proceeded on my journey.

I reached the country of the *Chasunous*, and afterwards went up the Wabash or Ohio, almost to its source, which is in the country of the *Iroquois* or five nations. I left them however, towards the north, and during the winter, which is in that country very severe and long, I lived in a village of the *Abenuquis*, where I contracted an acquaintance with a man somewhat older than myself, who promised to conduct me the following spring to the great water. Accordingly when the snows were melted and the weather was settled, we proceeded eastward, and after several days' journey, I at length saw the great water, which filled me with such joy and admiration, that I could not speak. Night drawing on, we took up our lodging on a high bank above the high water, which was sorely vexed by the wind, and made so great a noise that I could not sleep. Next day the ebbing and flowing of the water filled me with great apprehension; but my companion quieted my fears by assuring me that the water observed certain bounds both in advancing and retiring. Having satisfied our curiosity in viewing the great water, we turned to the village of the *Abenauquis*, where I continued the following winter; and after the snows were melted, my companion and I went and viewed the great fall of the river St. Lawrence at Niagara, which was distant from the village several day's journey. The view of this great fall at first made my hair stand on end, and my heart almost leap out of its place; but afterwards before I left, I had the courage to walk under it. Next day we took the shortest road to *Ohio*, and my companion and I cutting down a tree on the bank of the river, we formed it into a *Pettiaugre*, which served to conduct me down the *Ohio* and the *Mississippi*, after which, with much difficulty, I went up our small river; and at length arrived safe among my relations, who were rejoiced to see me in good health.

“ ‘ This journey instead of satisfying only served to excite my curiosity. Our old men for several years, had told me that the ancient speech informed them that the red men of the north came originally much higher and much farther

than the source of the river *Missouri*; and as I had longed to see, with my own eyes, the land whence our first fathers came, I took my precautions for my journey westwards. Having provided a small quantity of corn, I proceeded up along the eastern bank of the river *Missouri*, till I came to the Ohio. I went up along the bank of this last river about the fourth part of a day's journey, that I might be able to cross it without being carried into the *Mississippi*. There I found a *Caugeux*, or raft of canes, by the assistance of which I passed over the river; and next day meeting with a herd of buffaloes in the meadows, I killed a fat one, and took from it the fillets, the bunch, and the tongue. Soon after I arrived among the *Tamaroas*, a village of the nation of *Illinois*, where I rested several days and then proceeded northwards to the mouth of the *Missouri*, which after it enters the great river runs for a considerable time without intermixing its muddy waters with the clear stream of the other. Having crossed the *Mississippi*, I went up the *Missouri* along its northern bank, and after several days' journey I arrived at the nation of the *Missouri*, where I staid a long time to learn the language that is spoken beyond them. In going along the *Missouri* I passed through meadows a whole day's journey in length which were quite covered with buffaloes.

“When the cold was past, and the snows were melting I continued my journey up along the *Missouri*, till I came to the nation of the west, or the *Cauras*. Afterwards, in consequence of directions from them, I proceeded in the same course, near thirty days, and at length I met with some of the nation of *Otters*, who were hunting in that neighbourhood, and were surprised to see me alone. I continued with the hunters two or three days, and then accompanied one of them and his wife, who was near her time of lying in, to their village, which lay far off betwixt the north and west. We continued our journey along the *Missouri* for nine days, and then we marched directly north for five days, and met more of the *Otters*, who received me with as much kindness as if I had been of their own nation

A few days after, I joined them, when we came to the fine river which runs westward in a direction contrary to that of the Missouri, we proceeded down this river a whole day and arrived at a village, a party of the *Otters*, who were going to carry a *calumet of peace* to a nation beyond them, and we embarked in a *pettiaugre* and went down the river for eighteen days, landing now and then to supply ourselves with provisions. When I arrived at the nation who were at peace with the *Otters*, I stayed with them till the cold was past, that I might learn their language, which was common to most of the nations that lived beyond them. The cold was hardly gone when I embarked on the fine river, and in my course I met with several nations with whom I generally stayed but one night, till I arrived at the nation which is but one day's journey from the *great water* in the west. This nation lives in the wood about the distance of a league from the river, from the apprehension of bearded men, who come on their coasts in floating villages and carry off their children and make slaves of them. These men are described to be white, with long white beards that came down to their breasts. They were thick and short, and had large heads covered with cloth; they were always dressed, even in the greatest heats; their clothes fell down to the middle of their legs, which with their feet were covered with red or yellow stuff. Their arms made a great fire and a great noise; and when they saw themselves outnumbered by *red men*, they retired on board their large *pettiaugres*; and their number sometimes amounted to thirty, but never more.

“Those strangers came from the sun-setting, in search of a yellow; stinking wood, which dyes a fine yellow colour; but the people of this nation, that they might not be tempted to visit them, destroyed all those kinds of trees. Two other nations in their neighbourhood, however, having no other wood, could not destroy them, and were still visited by these strangers; and being greatly incommoded by them, had invited their allies to assist them in making an attack upon them the next time they would return. The

following summer I accordingly joined in this expedition, and after travelling five long days' journey, we came to the place where the bearded men usually landed; there we waited seventeen days for their arrival. The red men, by my advice, placed themselves in ambuscade to surprise the strangers, and accordingly, when they landed, we were so successful as to kill eleven of them; the rest immediately escaped on board two large pettiaugres and fled westward on the great water.

“ Upon examining those whom he had killed, we found them much smaller than ourselves, and rather fairer; they had a large head, and in the middle of the crown the hair was very long; their heads were wrapt in great many folds of stuff, and their clothes seemed to be made neither of wool or silk, they were very soft, and of different colours; two only of those who were killed had fire-arms, powder, and ball. I tried their pieces and found that they were much heavier than ours, and did not kill at so great a distance. After the expedition, I thought of nothing but proceeding on my journey, and with that design I let the *red men* return home, and joined myself to those who lived more westward on the coast, with whom I travelled along the coast of the *great river*, which bends directly betwixt the north and the sun-setting. When I arrived at the village of my fellow-travellers, where I found the days very long and the nights very short, I was advised by the old men to give up every thought of continuing my journey. They told me that the land extended a long way between the north and the sun-setting; after which it ran directly west and at length was cut by the great water from north to south. One of them added that, when he was young, he knew a very old man who had seen that distant land before it was cut away by the great water, and that when the great water was low, many rocks still appeared in those parts. Finding it therefore impracticable to proceed much farther on account of the severity of the climate and the want of game, I returned by the same route by which I had set out; and reducing my whole travels west

ward to two days' journey, I compute that they would not have employed me thirty-six moons; but on account of my frequent delays it was five years before I returned to my relations among the Yazons.

"The remarkable difference I observed between the *Natchez*, including in that name the nations whom they as brethren, and the other people of Louisiana, made me extremely desirous of knowing whence both of them originally came. We had not then, that fall, the information which we have since received from the travels and discoveries of *M. De Lisle* in the eastern part of the Russian empire. I therefore applied myself one day to put the keeper of the temple in good humour, and having succeeded in that without much difficulty, I then told him that from the little resemblance I observed between the *Natchez* and the neighbouring tribes, I was of the opinion that they were not originally from the same country, and that if the ancient speech taught him anything on that subject, he would do me a great pleasure to inform me of it. At these words he leaned his head on his two hands with which he covered his eyes, and having remained in that posture for a quarter of an hour, as if to recollect himself, he answered to the following effect:

"Before we came to this island we lived yonder under the sun (pointing with his finger nearly south-west by which I understood he meant Mexico), we lived in a fine country where the earth is always pleasant; there our sons had their abode, and our nation maintained itself for a long time against hostile strangers, who conquered some of our villages in the plains, but never could force us from the mountains. Our nation extended itself along the great water where this large river loses itself; but as our enemies were become very numerous and very wicked, our sons sent some of our subjects who lived near this river, to examine whether we could retire into the country through which it flowed. The country on the east side being found extremely pleasant, the great son upon the return of those who had examined it, ordered all his subjects who lived in

plains, and who still defended themselves against the enemies of their country, to remove into this land, here to build a temple, and to preserve the eternal fire.

“A great part of our nation accordingly settled here, where they lived in peace and abundance for several generations; the great son and those who had remained with him, never thought of joining us, being tempted to continue where they were by the pleasantness of the country, which was very warm, and by the weakness of their enemies who had fallen into civil dissensions by the ambition of one of their chiefs who wanted to raise himself from a state of equality with the other chiefs of the villages, and to treat all his people as slaves. During those discords among our enemies, some of them even entered into an alliance with the great son, who still remained in our old country, that he might assist some other brethren who had settled on the banks of the great water to the east of the large river, and extended themselves so far on the coast, and among the isles that the great son did not hear of them, sometimes for five or six years together.

“It was not till after many generations that the great son came to join us in this part of the country, where from the fine climate and peace we had enjoyed, we had multiplied like the leaves of the trees. Warriors of fire who made the earth tremble had arrived in our old country, and having entered into alliance with our brethren, conquered our ancient enemies; but attempting afterwards to make slaves of our sons, they, rather than submit to them, left our brethren who refused to follow them, and came hither attended only with their slaves.’

“Upon my asking him who those warriors of fire were, he replied that they were bearded white men, somewhat of a brownish colour, who carried arms which started fire with a great noise, and killed at a great distance, that they had likewise heavy arms which killed many men at once, and like thunder made the earth tremble, and that they came from the sun rising in floating villages.

“The ancients of the country, he said, were numerous

and inhabited from the western coast of the great water to the northern countries on this side the sun, and very far up on the same coast beyond the sun. They had a great number of large and small villages, which were all built of stone, and in which there were houses large enough to lodge a whole village. Their temples were built with great labour and art, and they made beautiful works of all kind of materials. ✓

“But ye yourselves, said I, whence are ye come? The ancient speech, he replied, did not tell whence we came; all that we know is, that our fathers, to come hither, followed the sun and came with him from the place where he rises; that they were a long time on the journey, were all on the point of perishing, and were brought into the country without seeking.” ✓

“As to those whom the Natchez,” says Stuart, “call their ancient enemies, or the ancients of the country of Mexico, I am of opinion, that they had a different origin from the Natchez and the North American Indians. Their temples, their sacrifices, their buildings, their form of government, and their manner of making war, all denote a people who had transmigrated in a body, and brought with them the arts, the sciences, and the customs of their country. Those people had also the art of painting and writing. Their archives consisted of cloths of cotton; whereon they had painted or drawn those transactions which they thought worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

“It were greatly to be wished that the first conquerors of this new world had preserved to us the figures of those drawings; for, by comparing them with the characters used by other nations, we might perhaps have discovered the origin of the inhabitants. The knowledge we have of the Chinese characters, which are rather irregular drawings than characters, would probably have facilitated such a discovery; and perhaps those of Japan would have been found to have greatly resembled the Mexican; for I am strongly of opinion that the Mexicans are descended from one of those nations. In fact, where is the impossibility ✓

that some prince in one of those countries, upon failing in an attempt to raise himself to the sovereign power, should leave his native country with all his partizans and look for some new land, where, after he had established himself, he might drop all foreign correspondence. The easy navigation of the South Sea renders the thing probable; and the new map of the eastern bounds of Asia and the western of North America, lately published by *M. De Lisle*, makes it still more probable. This map makes it plainly appear, that between the Island of Japan, or northern coasts of China, and those of America, there are other lands which to this day have remained unknown; and who will take on himself to say, that there is land because it has not been discovered? I have therefore good grounds to believe that the Mexicans came from China or Japan especially when I consider their reserved and uncommunicative disposition, which to this day prevails among the people of the eastern parts of Asia. The great antiquity of the Chinese nation, likewise, makes it possible that a colony might have gone from there to America, early enough to be looked on as the ancients of the country. As a farther corroboration of my conjectures, I was informed by a man of learning in 1752, that in the king's library there is a Chinese manuscript which positively affirms that America was peopled by the inhabitants of *Corea*.

"Monacht Ape, after giving me an account of his travels, spent four or five days visiting among the Natchez and then returned to take leave of me when I made him a present of several wares of no value, among which was a concave mirror about two inches and a half diameter, which had cost me three pence and one half-penny: as this magnified the face to four or five inches its natural size, he was wonderfully delighted with it, and would not have exchanged it for the best mirror in France. After expressing his regret for parting with me, he returned highly satisfied to his own nation.

"Monacht Ape's account of the junction of America with the eastern part of Asia, seems confirmed from the following

remarable fact: 'Some years ago the skeletons of two large elephants and two small ones were discovered in a marsh near the Ohio River, and as they were not much consumed it is supposed that the elephants came from Asia not many years before. If we also consider the form of government, and the manner of living among the northern nations of America, there will appear a great resemblance between them and the Tartars or Siberians in the north-east part of Asia.'

"The foregoing story has in it many internal marks of truth. Some of the more prominent of them may be here succinctly stated. Indians who have never seen the ebbing and flowing of the tide, are wonderfully struck with this phenomenon. Many of the inhabitants of Quebec must still remember, that the great deputation of the Indian chiefs from the Mississippi, who came to Quebec during the administration of Sir George Provost, and had in their company the sister of Tecumseh, were often to be seen sitting in a row upon a wharf in the lower town of Quebec, contemplating in silence, and evidently under the deepest impression of awe, the rising and falling of the waters of the St. Lawrence

"The white men here described, correspond in every particular with the Chinese, who, there is reason to believe, held commercial intercourse with the south of Africa a long time before *Vasco de Gama* discovered and doubled the Cape of Good Hope. The Chinese are rather smaller than we are, and have the palest complexion indigenous to Asia. Their muskets are matchlocks, and heavier than ours, their powder is inferior in quality.

"The stinking wood mentioned by the Indian chief is probably fustic, yielding a yellow dye, which is the prevailing colour of the garments of the superior classes in China. None of these things could have been known to the Indian chief, and the general tone and character of M. Du Pratz's work excludes the idea of his having fabricated the story."

The learned Winterbotham, who wrote the history of

North America, confirms us also in the opinion that America was entered from Asia by Kamschatka.

"In the strait," says he, "which separates America from Asia, many islands are found, which probably were the mountains belonging to that tract of land, which we suppose to have been swallowed up by earthquakes; which is made more probable by the multitude of volcanoes which we know of in the Peninsula of Kamschatka. It is imagined, however, that the sinking of that land, and the separation of the two continents, by those great and extraordinary earthquakes mentioned in the histories of the Americans, which formed an era almost as memorable as that of the deluge. The histories of the *Toltecas* fix such earthquakes in the year I *Tecpall*; but as we know not to what century that belonged, we can form no conjecture of the time that great calamity happened. If a great earthquake should overwhelm the Isthmus of *Suez*, and there should be at the same time as great a scarcity of historians as there were in the first ages after the deluge, it would be doubted, in 300 or 400 years after, whether Asia had ever been united by that part to Africa; and many would firmly deny it.

"Whether that great event, the separation of the continents, took place before or after the population of America, is as impossible as it is of little moment for us to know; but we are indebted to Cook and his successor Clerke for settling a long dispute about the point from which it was effected. Their observations prove, that in one place the distance between continent and continent does not exceed thirty miles. This narrow strait has also in the middle two islands which would greatly facilitate the emigration of the Asiatics into the new world, supposing that it took place in canoes after the convulsion which rent the two continents asunder. Besides, it may be added, that these straits are, even in summer often filled with ice; and in winter often frozen. In either case mankind might find an easy passage; in the last the way was extremely ready for quadrupeds to cross and stock the continent of America. Where, but from the vast expanse of the north-eastern world, to fix on the first tribes

which contributed to people the new world, now inhabited almost from end to end, is a matter which has drawn forth the most ingenious conjectures.

"As mankind increased in numbers, they naturally protruded one another forward. Wars might be another cause of emigrations. There appears no reason why the north Asiatics might not be an *officina virorum*, as well as the Europeans. The overteeming country to the east of the Riphoean mountains, must have found it necessary to discharge its inhabitants; the first great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more powerful than itself; successive and new impulses continually arising, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern tract; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions; at length, reaching the farthest limits of the old world, found a new one, with ample space to occupy unmolested for ages; till Columbus cursed them by a discovery, which brought again new sins and new deaths to both worlds."

"The inhabitants of the new world, (the diligent antiquary M. Pennant observes,) do not consist of the offspring of a single nation; different people at different periods arrived there; and it is impossible to say that any one is now to be found on the original spot of its colonization. It is impossible, with the lights which we have so recently received, to admit that America could receive its inhabitants (at least the bulk of them) from any other place than eastern Asia. A few proofs may be added, taken from customs or dresses common to the inhabitants of both worlds; some have been long extinct in the old, but others remain in both in full force.

"The custom of scalping was a barbarism in use with the Scythians, who carried about them at all time this savage mark of triumph. They cut a circle round the neck, and stripped off the skin, as they would that of an ox. A little image found among the Calmucks, of a Tartarian deity, mounted on a horse, and sitting on a human skin, with scalps pendant from the breast, fully illustrates the custom of the Scythian progenitors, as described by the

Greek historian. This usage, as the Europeans know by horrid experience, is continued to this day in America. The ferocity of the Scythians to the prisoners extended to the remotest part of Asia. The Kamschadales, even at the time when they were discovered by the Russians, put their prisoners to death by the most lingering and excruciating inventions; a practice in full force till this day among the aboriginal Americans. A race of the Scythians were styled *Anthropophagi*, from their feeding on human flesh.

"The people of Nootka Sound still make a repast on their fellow creatures; but what is more wonderful, the savage allies of the British army have been known to throw the mangled limbs of the French prisoners into the horrible cauldron, and devour them with the same relish as those of a quadruped.

"The Scythians were said, for a certain time, annually to transform themselves into wolves, and again to resume the human shape. The new discovered Americans about Nootka Sound, at this time, disguise themselves in the dresses made of the skins of wolves and other wild beasts, and wear even the heads fitted to their own. These habits they use in the chase, to circumvent the animals of the field. But would not ignorance or superstition ascribe to a supernatural metamorphosis, these temporary expedients to deceive the brute creation?

"In their marches the Kamschadales never went abreast but followed one another in the same track. The same custom is exactly observed by the Americans.

"The Tongusi, the most numerous nation resident in Siberia, prick their faces in small punctures with a needle in various shapes; then rub into them charcoal, so that the marks become indelible. This custom is still observed in several parts of America. The Indians on the back of Hudson's Bay, to this day, perform the operation exactly in the same manner, and puncture the skin into various figures; as the natives of New Zealand do at present, and as the ancient Britons did with the herb *glastum*,

or woad, and the Virginians on the first discovery of that country by the English.

"The Tongusi use canoes made of birch bark, distended over ribs of wood, and nicely sewed together. The Canadian and many other American nations, use no other sort of boats. The paddles of the Tongusi are broad at each end; those of the people near Cook's River and of Onslascha, are of the same form.

"In the burying of the dead, many of the American nations place the corpse at full length, after preparing it according to their customs. Others place it in a sitting posture, and lay by it the most valuable clothing, wampum, and other matters. The Tartars and Coriaks did the same as well as the Tongusi and Kamschadales. They all agree in covering the whole with earth, so as to form a tumulus, barrow, or carned.

"Some of the American nations hang their dead in trees. Certain of the Tongusi observe a similar custom.

"We can draw some analogy from dress; conveniency in that article must have been consulted on both continents, and originally the materials must have been the same, the skins of birds and beasts. It is singular that the conic bonnet of the Chinese should be found among the people of Nootka.

"In respect to the features and form of the human body, almost every tribe found along the western coast has some similitude to the Tartar and Siberian nations, and still retain the little eyes, small noses, high cheeks, and broad faces. They vary in size from the lusty Calmucks to the little Nogains. The internal Americans, such as the five Indian nations, who are tall of body, robust in make, and of oblong faces, are derived from a variety among the Tartars and Siberians themselves.

"The continent which stocked America with the human race poured in the brute creation through the same passage. Very few quadrupeds continued in the Peninsula of Kamschatka; M. Pennant enumerates only twenty-five which are inhabitants of that land; all the rest persisted in their emi-

gration, and fixed their residence in the new world. Seventeen of the quadrupeds of Kamschatka are found in America; others are common to Tartary or Siberia, having for unknown causes entirely evacuated Kamschatka, and divided themselves between America and the parts of Asia above cited."

The reader is now at liberty to judge whether these observations and researches of modern travellers will serve as incontrovertible proofs of the Asiatic origin of the North American Indians, or as mere conjectures, which are liable to delusion and error. Conjectures, hypothesis, and speculative opinions are, it is true, frequently to be considered as unwary guides, and false clues which will not lead us, in a labyrinth of obscurity and antiquity, to the original source of a nation. In the present inquiry, however, there is no room for suspicion, because the manners and customs, the intellectual faculties as well as the external appearance and complexion of the Asiatics and the aborigines of North America, have been depicted faithfully and impartially by several persons of veracity and erudition, without reference to the descent of either the aboriginal Americans or those Asiatic tribes which they described, from any particular nation, or country. When, therefore, the characteristic features, as well as the external appearance, bodily frame, and the manners and customs of the American Indians, and certain tribes in Asia coincide so singularly, and differ so considerably from the national peculiarities of the rest of the human race, an ancient consanguinity will at once be acknowledged even by the most incredulous or suspicious. In the absence of true and faithful traditions, records, and history, a comparative view of the manners and customs of two nations, and a collation of their languages are the only means by which the antiquary can discover an affinity between them. This we have done with as much fidelity as the importance of the inquiry evidently requires. Our researches, therefore, are founded on the intercourse of modern travellers with the inhabitants of both continents; and the reader will not, we hope, hesitate to believe not only the

Asiatic origin of the North American Indians, but their immediate descent from the Siberians, Kamschadales, and Tartars

INDIAN ELOQUENCE.

Their natural eloquence is acknowledged by every person who heard their orators speak. In order, therefore, that the reader may be convinced of these facts, we shall offer the following able observations of one of our public journals, on Indian eloquence :

“ A few suns more and the Indian will live only in history. A few centuries and that history will be coloured with the mellow romantic light in which time robes the past, and, contrasted with the then present wealth and splendour of America, may seem so impossible, as to elicit from the historian a philosophic doubt of its authenticity. The period may arrive when the same uncertainty which hangs over the heroic days of every people may attend its records, and the stirring deeds of the battle field and council-fire may be regarded as attractive fictions, or at the best as beautiful exaggerations.

“ This is but in the nature of things. Actions always lose their reality and distinctness in the perspective of ages : time is their charnel house. And no memorials are to be lost or forgotten, as soon as those of conquered nations. Of the Angels and Saxons little more than a name has survived, and the Indian may meet no better fate. Even though our own history is enveloped in theirs, it is somewhat to be feared, that, from neglect, the valuable cover will be suffered to decay, and care bestowed only on the precious contents. ‘ Be it so,’ exclaimed some ; what pleasure or profit is to be derived from the remembrance of such things ! Let the wild legend be forgotten ; they are but exhibitions of a savage life, teeming with disgusting excess, and brutal passion. They portray man in no interesting light ; for

with every redeeming trait, there rises on some a revolting characteristic in horrid contrast. Was he grateful? so was his revenge bloody and eternal. Was he brave? so was he treacherous. Was he generous? so was he crafty and cruel.

"But a more philosophical mind would say, no! he presents a part of the panorama of humanity, and his extermination is an embodiment of a great principle—the same retreat of the children of the wilderness before the wave of civilization; hence arises a deep interest in his fortune, which should induce us to preserve, carefully and faithfully, the most trifling record of his greatness and degradation. At a time when barbarous nations elsewhere had lost their primitive purity, we find him the only true child of nature—the best specimen of man in his native simplicity. We should remember him as a study of human nature—as an instance of a strange mixture of good and evil passions. We perceive in him fine emotions of feeling and delicacy, and unrestrained systematic cruelty, grandeur of spirit and hypocritical cunning, genuine courage and fiendish treachery. He was like some beautiful spar, part of which is regular, clear, and sparkling, while a portion, impregnated with clay, is dark and forbidding.

"But above all, as being an engrossing subject to an American, as coming to us the only relic of the literature of the aborigines, and the most perfect emblem of their character, their glory and their intellect, we should dearly cherish the remains of their oratory. In these we see developed the motives which animated their actions, and the light and shadows of their very soul. The iron encasement of apparent apathy in which the savage had fortified himself, impenetrable at ordinary moments, is laid aside in the council room. The genius of eloquence bursts the swathing bands of custom, and the Indian stands forth accessible, natural, and legible. We commune with him, listen to his complaints, understand, appreciate, and even feel his injuries.

"As Indian eloquence is a key to his character, so is it a



AN INDIAN WARRIOR

noble monument of their literature. Oratory seldom finds a more auspicious field. A wild people, and region of thought, forbade feebleness; uncultivated, but intelligent and sensitive, a purity of idea, chastely combined with energy of expression, ready fluency and imagery now exquisitely delicate, now soaring to the sublime, all united to rival the efforts of any ancient or modern orator.

"What can be imagined more impressive, than a warrior rising in the council-room to address those who bore the same scarred marks of their title to fame and the chieftainship? The dignified stature, the easy repose of limbs—the graceful gesture, the dark speaking eye, excite equal admiration and expectation. We would anticipate eloquence from an Indian. He has animating remembrances—a poverty of language, which exacts rich and apposite metaphorical allusions, even for ordinary conversation—a mind which, like his body, has never been trammelled and mechanized by the formalities of society, and passions which, from the very outward restraint imposed upon them, burn more fiercely within. There is a mine of truth in the reply of Red Jacket, when called a warrior: '*A warrior!*' said he; '*I am an orator—I was born an orator.*'"

"There are not many speeches remaining on record, but even in this small number there is such a rich yet varied vein of all the characteristics of true eloquence, that we even rise from their perusal with regret that so few have been preserved. No where can be found a poetic thought clothed in more captivating simplicity of expression, than in the answer of Tecumseh to Governor Harrison, in the conference at Vincennes. It contains a high moral rebuke, and a sarcasm heightened in effect by an evident consciousness of loftiness above the reach of insult. At the close of his address, he found that no chair had been placed for him, a neglect which Governor Harrison ordered to be remedied as soon as discovered. Suspecting, perhaps, that it was more an affront than a mistake, with an air of dignity, elevated almost to haughtiness, he declined the seat proffered, with the words, '*Your father requests you to take a chair,*' and

answered as he calmly disposed himself on the ground: 'My father? The sun is my father, and the earth is my mother. *I will repose upon her bosom.*'

"As they excelled in the beautiful, so also they possessed a nice sense of the ridiculous. There is a clever strain of irony, united with the sharpest taunt, in the speech of Garangula to De la Barre, the Governor of Canada, when that crafty Frenchman met his tribe in council, for the purpose of obtaining peace, and reparation for past injuries. The European, a faithful believer in the maxim that *En guerre ou la peau du lion ne peut suffire il y faut coudre un loupin de celle du regnard,*' attempted to over-awe the savage by threats, which he well knew he had no power to execute. Garangula, who also was well aware of his weakness, replied, 'Yonondia, you must have believed when you left Quebec, that the sun had burned up all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so overflowed their banks, that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, surely you must have dreamed so, and *curiosity* of seeing so great a wonder has brought you so far. Hear, Yonondia: our *women* had taken their clubs, our *children* and *old* men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our *warriors* had not disarmed them, and kept them back when your messengers came to our castle.' We cannot give a better idea of the effect of their harangues upon their own people, and at the same time a finer instance of their gratefulness when skilfully touched, than in the address to the Wallah Wallahs by their young chief, the Morning Star. In consequence of the death of several of their tribe, killed in one of their predatory excursions against the whites, they had collected in a large body for the purpose of assailing them. The stern, uncompromising hostility with which they were animated, may be imagined from the words they chaunted on approaching to the attack: 'Rest, brothers, rest! You will be avenged. The tears of your widows will cease to flow, when they behold the blood of your murderers, and on seeing their scalps,

your children shall sing and leap with joy. Rest, brothers, in peace! Rest, we shall have blood!" The last strains of the death-song had died away. The gleaming eye, burning with the desire of revenge—the countenance, fierce even through an Indian's cloak—the levelled gun and poised arrow, forbade promise of peace, and their superior force as little hope of successful resistance. At this moment of awful excitement, a mounted troop burst in between them, and its leader addressed his kindred: 'Friends and relations! Three snows have only passed over our heads, since we were a poor, miserable people. Our enemies were numerous and powerful; we were few and weak. Our hearts were as the hearts of children. We could not fight like warriors, and were driven like deer about the plain. When the thunder rolled, and the rains poured, we had no place save the rocks, whereon we could lay our heads. Is such the case now? No! We have regained possession of the land of our fathers, in which they and their fathers' fathers lie buried; *our hearts are great within us, and we are now a nation.* Who has produced this change? The white man! And are we to treat him with ingratitude? The *warrior with the strong arm and great heart will never rob a friend.*' The result was wonderful. There was a complete revulsion of feeling. The angry waves were quieted, and the savage, forgetting his enmity, smoked the calumet with those whom the eloquence of Morning Star alone had saved from his scalping knife.

"Fearlessness and success in battle were the highest titles to honour, and an accusation of cowardice was a deadly insult. A reproach of this kind to a celebrated chief received a chivalric reply. Kognethagecton, or, as he was more generally called, White Eyes, at the time his nation was solicited to join in the war against the Americans, in our struggle for liberty, exerted his influence against hostile measures. His answer to the Senecas, who were in the British interest, and who, irritated by his obstinate adherence to peace, attempted to humble him, by reference to an old story of the Delawares being a conquered people, is a

manly and dignified assertion of independence. It reminds one of the noble motto of the Frenchman; '*J'en estime un autre plus grand que moi lorsque j'ai mon epee.*' 'I know well,' said he, 'that you consider us a conquered nation—as women—as your inferiors. You have, say you, shortened our legs, and put petticoats on us. You say you have given us a hoe and a corn-pounder, and told us to plant and pound for *you—you men—you warriors*. But look at me—am I not full grown? And have I not a warrior's dress? Ay! *I am a man*—and these are the arms of a man—and all that country is mine!' What a dauntless vindication of manhood, and what a nice perception of Indian character, is this appeal to their love of courage, and their admiration for a fine form, vigorous limbs, complete arms, and a proud demeanor! How effective and emphatic the conclusion, 'all that country is mine!' exclaimed in a tone of mingled defiance and pride, and accompanied with a wave of the hand over the rich country bordering on the Allegheny.

"This bold speech quelled for a time all opposition, but the desire to engage against the Americans, increased by the false reports of some wandering Tories, finally became so vehement, that, as a last resort, he proposed to the tribe to wait ten days before commencing hostilities. Even this was about to be denied him, and the term traitor beginning to be whispered around, when he rose in council, and began an animated expostulation against their conduct. He depicted its inevitable consequences, the sure advance of the white man, and the ruin of his nation; and then, in a generous manner, disclaimed any interest or feelings separate from those of his friends; and added: 'But if you *will* go out in this war, you shall not go without *me*. I have taken peace measures, it is true, with a view of saving my tribe from destruction. But if you think me in the wrong—if you give more, credit to runaway vagabonds than to your own friends—to a man—to a warrior—to a Delaware—if you insist upon fighting the Americans—go! And I will go with you. And I will not go like the bear hunters, who sets his dogs upon the animal, to be beaten about with his paws,

while he keeps himself at a safe distance. No! I will lead you on. I will place myself in the front. I will fall with the first of you. *You* can do as you choose. But as for *me*, I will not survive my nation. I will not live to bewail the miserable destruction of a brave people, who deserved, as you do, a better fate!

"The allusion to their greater confidence in foreigners than in their own kindred, is a fine specimen of *censure*, wonderfully strengthened by a beautiful climacteric arrangement. Commencing with a friend—and who so grateful as an Indian?—it passes to a man—and who so vain of birth-right as an Indian?—then to a warrior; and who more glorious to the savage than the mar of battle?—and lastly to a Delaware—a word which rings through the hearts of his hearers, starts into life a host of proud associations, and while it deepens their contempt for the stranger and his falsehoods, imparts a grandeur to the orator, in whom the friend, the man, the warrior, the Delaware are personified.

"The spirit of the conclusion added to its force. It was the out-bursting of that firm determination never to forsake their customs and laws—that brotherhood of feeling which have ever inspired the action of the aborigines—a spirit which time has strengthened, insult hardened to obstinacy, and oppression rendered almost hereditary. It bespeaks a bold soul, resolved to die with the loss of its country's liberties.

"We pass by the effect of this speech, by merely stating that it was successful, to notice a letter much of the same character as the close of the last, sent to General Clinch, by the chief who is now setting our troops at defiance in Florida. 'You have arms,' says he, 'and so have we; you have powder and lead, and so have we; you have men, and so have we; your men will fight, and so will ours, *till the last drop of the Seminole's blood has moistened the dust of his hunting ground.*' This needs no comment. Intrepidity is their character.

"View these evidences of attachment to the customs of their fathers, and of heroic resolution to leave their bones

in the forests where they were born, and which were their inheritance, and then revert to their unavailing, hopeless resistance against the march of civilization; and though we know it is the rightful natural course of things, yet it is a hard heart which does not feel for their fate. Turn to Red Jacket's graphic description of the fraud which purloined their territory, and shame mingles somewhat with our pity. 'Brothers, at the treaties held for the purchase of our lands, the white men, with *sweet voices* and *smiling faces*, told us they *loved us*, and they would not cheat us, but that the king's children on the other side of the lake, would cheat us. When we go on the other side of the lake, the king's children tell us your people will cheat us. These things puzzle our heads, and we believe that the Indians must take care of themselves, and not trust either in your people or in the king's children. Brothers, our seats were once large, and yours very small. You have now become a great people, and we have *scarcely a place left to spread our blankets*.' True, and soon their graves will be all they shall retain of their once ample hunting grounds. Their strength is wasted, their countless warriors dead, their forest laid low, and their burial-places upturned by the ploughshare. There was a time when the war-cry of a Powhattan, a Delaware, or an Abenakis, struck terror to the heart of a pale-face; but now the Seminole is singing his last song.

"Some of the speeches of *Shenandoah*, a celebrated Oneida chief, contain the truest touches of natural eloquence. He lived to a great age; and in his last oration in council, he opened with the following sublime and beautiful sentence: 'Brothers—I am an aged hemlock. *The winds of a hundred winters have whistled through my branches, and I am dead at the top.*' Every reader who has seen a tall hemlock, with a dry and leafless top surmounting its dark green foliage, will feel the force of the simile. 'I am dead at the top.' His memory, and all the vigorous powers of youth, had departed for ever.

"Not less felicitous was the close of a speech made by *Pushmataha*, a venerable chief of a western tribe, at a

council held, we believe, in Washington, many years since. In alluding to his extreme age, and to the probability that he might not even survive the journey back to his tribe, he said: 'My children will walk through the forests, and the Great Spirit will whistle in the tree-tops, and the flowers will spring up in the trails—but Pushmataha will hear not—he will see the flowers no more. He will be gone. His people will know that he is dead. The news will come to their ears, *as the sound of the fall of a mighty oak in the stillness of the woods.*'

"The most powerful tribes have been destroyed; and as Sadekanatie expressed it, 'Strike at the root, and when the trunk shall be cut down, the branches shall fall of course?' The trunk has fallen, the branches are slowly withering, and shortly the question, *Who is there to mourn for Logan,* may be made of the whole race, and find not a sympathizing reply.

"Their actions may outlive, but their oratory, we think, *must* survive their fate. It contains many attributes of true eloquence. With a language too barren, and minds too free for the rules of rhetoric, they still attained the power of touching the feeling, and a sublimity of style which rivals the highest productions of their more cultivated enemies. Expression apt and pointed—language strong and figurative—comparisons rich and bold—descriptions correct and picturesque—and gestures energetic and graceful, were the most striking peculiarities of their oratory. The latter rations, accurate mirrors of their character, their bravery immoveable stoicism, and a native grandeur, heightened as they are in expressiveness by the melancholy accompaniment of approaching extermination, will be as enduring as the swan-like music of Attica and Roman eloquence, which was the funeral song of the liberties of those republics."

These remarks, which allude to the state of the Indians of America, are evidently too true to require any comments; and as to Indian eloquence, we cannot hesitate a moment to admit the fact, when we consider that every rude nation whose languages are original, yet barren, use a style sub-

lime and figurative, full of bold and beautiful expressions; and such was the style of Ossian; yet his language has never been cultivated, but left in its original grandeur and simplicity.

As we intend to offer in another part of this work a copious selection of Indian Orations which will speak for themselves, and at the same time show, that their reasoning was just and their language frequently sarcastic, however void of our refined sophistry, the foregoing observations may suffice for the present.





HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED
INDIAN NATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA.

AND

**BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THEIR MOST CELEBRATED WARRIORS,
ORATORS AND STATESMEN.**

HAVING now offered to the reader the most plausible as well as the most rational arguments that can be used in tracing the origin of the Red Men of the western continent, and having likewise presented a faithful description of their national peculiarities, we have deemed it proper to conclude with brief and separate sketches of the history of the various nations which formed those powerful confederacies of former times, and which are now disappearing so fast, that no traces of their greatness, or even of their existence can be discovered at the present day, except their name alone, and that on the page of history only. It is not, however, our intention to inquire after all the different tribes that must have once inhabited North America, but those only whose martial prowess on the field of battle, eloquence and political prudence in the Indian council, entitle them to the respectful notice of Indian biographers.

One nation or one confederacy included several tribes, who were considered as members of the same family, in which they were all united. This union was generally named after the original stock. Such was the case in Virginia, during the days of the celebrated Captain Smith. The confederacy of the famous Powhattan, the father of the still more illustrious Pocahontas, consisted of thirty tribes, known in the history of that country generally by the name of Powhattans. The family of Powhattan was the most an-

cient of the whole, but certainly not the most numerous, hence the name became the national appellation of all the united tribes.

The Mohawks were the head of the Six Nations, and the whole confederacy was frequently known by that name. The Indians of New England adopted the same rule of styling the whole nation according to the senior tribe; those who resided in the north, on the borders of the lakes, were combined and united after the same policy. The grand sachem belonged to the ancient and original stock, from which the rest were said to be descended. To him all the inferior chiefs of the subordinate tribes were subject. This form of government was evidently no other than the republican system of the present day, so that democracy was the basis of their political institutions, however rude and imperfect their mode of self government may appear to us.

Tribes and nations frequently formed an alliance of friendship with each other, without being in any particular way related in blood; intermarriages and local circumstances led to this union, in order, no doubt, to protect themselves against the common enemy. The murder of one individual member of this combination was often a sufficient cause for the declaration of war, when the most bloody massacre ensued, according to the savage warfare of Indians. At the arrival of Europeans, strange to be told, there were, indeed, few or no Indian tribes, who could be said, to be at that time, inhabiting the original territory of their ancestors. They had all of them certain traditions which accounted for their migrations from the north, the south, the west, and the east; and what is still more strange, many of those tribes have been known to retrace their steps to the place whence they at first started. This they are continuing to do, at the present time; but we may presume, that they are now actuated more by compulsory means than by any voluntary motives of their own. The Red Men, may, therefore in the process of time, and in the lapse of a century, be seen approaching the coasts of Asia, to seek an asylum in

the bleak regions of Tartary and Siberia, to which America was first indebted for its red population.

As those warlike nations had produced eminent men, no less celebrated in time of peace than in war, whose talents as orators, statesmen, and warriors have been the admiration of the philosopher as well as the historian, we shall devote some few pages to the memory of their noble and magnanimous chieftains.

POWHATTANS.

The Powhattans were once a powerful nation of Indians, which occupied the whole tract of country (now called Virginia) between the sea shore and the falls of the rivers; the nation consisted of thirty tribes; and the chief sachem was called *Powhatan*, at the time of the effectual settlement from Europe, in 1610. In the early progress of the settlement, Captain John Smith, a distinguished founder of the colony of Virginia, was captured by the savages, and brought before their old sachem Powhattan, who received him in royal state. He was seated on a kind of royal throne, elevated above the floor of a large hut, in the midst of which was a fire; and was clothed in a robe of racoon skins. On each hand of the sachem sat his daughters, two beautiful girls; and along each side of the house, a row of his counsellors, painted, and adorned with feathers and shells. Upon the entrance of Smith, a great shout was made; water was brought to wash his hands, and he was served with a bunch of feathers for a towel. Having feasted him, after their manner, a long consultation was held, which being ended, two large stones were brought in, on one of which his head was laid and clubs were lifted up to beat out his brains. At this critical moment, Pocahontas, a girl about sixteen, and the favourite daughter of the sachem, sprang from her seat at her father's side, flew to the prisoner, took his head in her arms, and laid her own

upon it. Her tender entreaties prevailed; the old sachem consented that Smith should live to make hatchets for him, and ornaments for her. In 1613, Pocahontas was married to John Rolfe, an Englishman who soon after visited England, with his wife, where she publicly professed the christian faith, was baptized, and died in 1617, aged 22, leaving a son from whom some of the most respectable families of Virginia are descended.

POWHATTAN, THE EMPEROR.

With regard to the character of Powhattan himself, generally styled emperor, the subjection in which he kept, not only his own subjects, but all the surrounding nations, must speak highly of his political knowledge. In confirmation of this, we have the following account, from an ancient writer. "When he listeth, his will is a law, and must be obeyed: not only as a king, but as half a god, they esteem him. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. At his feet they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frown of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with fear."

But the native shrewdness and sly cunning which the emperor manifested in many of his transactions with the first English settlers in Virginia, prove, beyond a doubt, that his talents were adequate to the unlimited sway which he exercised over his countrymen. There were, perhaps, few or none of the Indian nations, who could be considered equally versed in military tactics. The warriors of Powhattan are said to have been regularly disciplined, insomuch that, at one of their first interviews with the English, during a military review for the entertainment of their white guests, the Europeans declared their astonishment at the regularity of their evolutions in this sham-fight.

Powhattan has evidently been misrepresented by historians viewed in different lights and opposite ways, but they have

all agreed, that he was a man of great talents, while his self-command and chivalrous courtesy would do credit to any civilized prince or monarch ; and while some have branded him with the epithets of tyrant and barbarian, these same authors, as well as others, acknowledge that he was a great warrior, a statesman, and a patriot. According to the excellent historian, Burke, his title to greatness, though his opportunities were fewer, is to the full as fair as that of Tamerlane or Kowli Khan, and several others whom history has immortalized ; while the proofs of his tyranny are by no means so clear.

NEW ENGLAND INDIANS.

The New England Indians may be divided into several confederacies, which may be reduced to five principal nations, the Pequots of the eastern part of Connecticut, the Narragansetts of Rhode Island, and other islands to the eastward of Connecticut, the Pawtucket tribes of New Hampshire, the Massachusetts Indians of the bay of the same name, and the Pokanokets of Bristol county, in Rhode Island, while some of their tribes were also scattered around Barnstable and Plymouth. Each of those confederacies consisted of different tribes subject to one grand sachem or king, and each tribe had its respective chief. After the settlement of Plymouth by the English in 1620, we first begin to become acquainted with the Indians of New England. In the following year Massasoit, the sachem of the Wampanoag tribe, belonging to the Pokanoket confederacy, had an interview with the Pilgrims, when a treaty was concluded between himself and the governor of the colony, the articles of which are as follow :

1. That neither he, (the governor) nor any of his (Massasoit's) should injure or do hurt to any of their people.
2. That if anything were taken away from any of theirs,

he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.

3. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish him.

4. That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him, and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

5. That he should send to his neighbour confederates, to inform them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these conditions of peace.

6. That when his came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms behind them.

7. That by so doing, their sovereign lord, King James, would esteem him as his friend and ally.

To the credit of Massasoit and the Wampanoagas, historians assure us that those honest Indians did not violate any of the provisions of that treaty for fifty years, which, no doubt, must be attributed to the amicable disposition of Massasoit. The colonists, on the other hand, it is too true, were not equally faithful in its fulfilment. As they increased and grew strong, many were the outrages which they committed on the good natured Wampanoagas, their best friends, when they were helpless, weak, and few, on a foreign shore. The Massachusetts and Narragansett's Indians were not so quiet nor so friendly; as we see that the sachem of the latter sent to the colony, as early as 1622, his compliments in the shape of a bundle of arrows, tied up with a rattle snake's skin.

About the first negotiation of the pilgrims with the Indians of New England, an immense tract of country was transferred or sold to the colonists for the trifling sum of a pair of knives, and a copper chain with a *jewel* in it for the grand sachem; and a knife and a *jewel* to hang in his ear, a pot of *strong water*, and a quantity of biscuit. In this manner have the poor Indians been robbed of their own country for toys and baubles and *strong water*. We may censure our forefathers for such acts of dishonesty; but is not this disgraceful system of robbery carried on to the present day?

MASSASOIT, SACHEM OF THE POKANOKET CONFEDERACY.

This great and wise chieftain, unlike many other Indian commanders, was always on the side of peace, not only with the whites but even with other hostile Indian tribes. He was brave, it is true, when occasion required him to be so, but as long as his own territories were not molested, or invaded he saw no reason why he should trouble others. The colonists, very prudently, gave him but little vexation; and it was after his death that their avarice, ambition, insolence and cruelty, began to excite the jealousy, ill feeling, and disaffection of his countrymen. He foresaw, doubtless, that the whites would soon become powerful, and that all the injuries which he might inflict on them at that time, would sooner or later be avenged, perhaps in the total extermination of his tribe. If he had predicted so, he prophesied rightly; as was the case with the Pequots, who were almost exterminated in 1637. But how many other tribes have nearly disappeared in like manner from the face of the country, by perpetual contentions among themselves as well as by the sword and musket of the whites? Be this, however, as it may, this sachem was naturally possessed of some excellent qualities, which can seldom be found among his superiors in education and refinement. No better proof of his fidelity and attachment to the whites, of his compassionate spirit, and unanimity of soul, can be adduced, than his conduct toward the colonists shortly after their settlement at Plymouth, when he provided them with provisions, and protected them, while, with the exception of six or seven, they were all reduced to a most desperate state by sickness, so that they were unable to help themselves in any way. In fine, we may safely assert, that the friendship and fidelity of Massasoit, were alone the means of saving the colonists from utter destruction. His name should ever be revered, even by those who most despise the savage Indian.

ALEXANDER• THE ELDEST SON OF MASSASOIT.

We have very little to say concerning the character of this sachem, who succeeded to the government of the Pokanoket confederacy on the death of his father. The extraordinary manner in which he came to his death certainly deserves notice; but in whatever way we view it, the colonists of New England seem to have an indelible stain on their character. Were he any other man, but the son of Massasoit, who for about half a century defended and protected them against the neighboring tribes, our surprise should not be so great. Some historians have endeavoured to hold this disgraceful affair in a light that would reflect no discredit on the colonists, while others who have recorded it, place very little confidence in the humanity of the New Englanders. That he was murdered by them, on mere suspicion of having attempted to rebel against them, is a fact which cannot be contradicted. The facts are as follow:

The Plymouth government, on hearing certain idle rumors from Boston, tending to show that the sachem Alexander had solicited the Narragansets to join him in taking up arms against the colony, despatched Mr. Winslow with ten armed men to Sowaws to capture him. In this expedition, it is said, he succeeded, after having first seized the arms of the sachem's attendants. Having threatened him with instant death, if he refused, Alexander reluctantly obeyed. There have been many reports respecting the ill treatment which he received on the way, but whether his usage was good or bad, it signifies nought, for he lost his life by some foul means. Two days after he was dragged away from his family, his lifeless corpse was carried home on the shoulders of his warriors. Thus ended the mortal career of the son of Massasoit, the best friend the New England colonists ever had. As long as nothing was proved against him, the colonists have done their character an immortal injury by this one act alone.

* In the Indian, he was called Moamam or Mamsutta.

KING PHILIP.

We now come to the most celebrated of all the emperors kings, and sachems of North America. King Philip, as he was, indeed, very appropriately styled, succeeded his elder brother, the unfortunate Alexander, whose untimely and mysterious death caused the most violent emotions of sorrow in the deep recesses of Philip's breast. He concealed them, it is true, for it was dangerous to express them; still he expected the day should soon arrive, when he could avenge himself of all the wrongs which were daily inflicted on his nation. On the most groundless suspicion and the most frivolous report, Philips was summoned to appear before the court at Plymouth to render an account of himself. As they could not however support their charges, he was then almost compelled to sign treaties of submission and grant lands, until he saw it was high time to adopt some plan for destroying or expelling the English from those provinces. We must not be understood as speaking with the least partiality for King Philip, as we shall advance nothing more than what we are told in history as well as in the records of the Plymouth colony. The territories of Philip were rapidly diminishing, while the whites were constantly increasing, and, consequently, his enemies were accumulating strength. Their haughty conduct towards him indicated nothing less than a desire to go to war and exterminate himself and his race, the Wampanoagas. Those faithful allies, who never broke their word for more than forty years. This ungrateful breach of promise on the part of the colony could not but exasperate the spirit of such a genius as King Philip.

In the mean time, while these things were going on, Philip was secretly and busily engaged in reconciling hostile tribes and uniting them for one common project, which he assured them, would be attended with universal blessing to all who would assist him.

He conducted the whole of this conspiracy with the

greatest caution, prudence and silence, and we may easily perceive that he was a man of no ordinary talents, when his plans were successfully progressing for years, even among tribes who had hitherto been inimical to Philip, not only to him, but even to each other. The first discovery of his plot, is generally attributed to his secretary, John Sassamon. This individual who is so conspicuous in the history of New England was an Indian, converted to Christianity, and educated among the whites. Having as they say, renounced his new religion, he betook himself among the Indians, and became the secretary of King Philip; but deserted him through the importunities of the whites, at which interference, the king was greatly enraged, knowing, no doubt, that Sassamon would soon divulge all the secrets to which he was privy, and which from every appearance he did, for King Philip was, shortly after this, commanded to appear before the court of justice at Plymouth. They could not, however, prove charges. The whites were now becoming more suspicious every day, and their suspicions, might, indeed, be well founded. Amid all these jealousies on both sides, Sassamon disappeared; and in a few days his dead body was found in a pond. Three Pokanoket Indians were immediately seized by the Plymouth government, tried and executed for the murder, on a very doubtful evidence of one man. Hence arose open hostilities.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR.

From the date of the execution of the above mentioned Indians, the Pokanokets appeared to be utterly ungovernable, while Philip, who understood and saw every thing far and near, was sorely grieved at the sudden and unexpected muster of his young warriors at Mount Hope in 1675. He was not, however, less intent on revenge, than any of his countrymen; but he awaited the maturity of his plans, as

well as the alliance and allegiance of many other tribes whose friendship he had been so long courting and soliciting. Let the blame be where it may, an Englishman was the first who commenced hostilities, by discharging his musket at one of the Indians and wounding him. Whatever might have been the former policy of Philip, he was now inevitably involved in the bloody war which ensued, and which he certainly meditated, conceived, and planned, but not at that unfavourable juncture. His sagacity and foresight well knew that the undertaking of a war at that time, when his newly formed allies were not aware of it, and when even his own more sober subjects did not approve of it, must be rash and dangerous. Such, indeed, was the result of the war, which, after having lasted for more than one year, ended in the death of Philip and almost the extermination of the New England Indians. The Narragansetts, the Indians on the Connecticut River and the Nipinucks who joined him, suffered most severely, having, perhaps, lost on each side nearly 1000 men. The Plymouth and Massachussetts governments combined and raised as strong a force as the state of the colonies would permit. Captain Church was the most distinguished officer on the English side; and, if we believe his own account, he committed the most savage brutalities and cruelties on the poor Indians whom they dragged and forced to take up arms. As the Indians cannot speak for themselves and tell their own story, we can only draw inferences from what the English have recorded of themselves. From June and October of 1676, this gallant Captain Church slaughtered from 700 to 1000 Indians, while most of those who were captured, were sent out of the country and sold for slaves.

It is needless for us to enter into a detail of this war, which has been so often and so minutely described by those who made it the subject of their treatise. Philip and the warriors under his command fought most bravely, but they were inferior in numbers, arms and ammunition. More Indians, it is said, perished by disease and famine, than by the sword of the enemy. They were frequently driven into

swamps, where nourishment could not be procured; hence sickness and starvation. Philip himself was a hundred times on the eve of being captured and killed, but, as the English assert, he was always foremost in the flight, when resistance was of no avail. As a warrior he is allowed to have no equal, either in courage or tactics. His most prejudiced enemies among the English, acknowledge his generosity and humanity to his prisoners of war; and, indeed Philip has not been considered as a mere barbarian in his dealings, for he manifested the most ample proofs of an exalted mind. His mode of living was certainly savage, but we cannot infer from that circumstance that his own manners and sentiments were barbarous.

Where is the patriot of the present day, who would not do what Philip did, if he saw his own countrymen sold as slaves abroad, or tortured and hanged at home, as the English served the Pokanokets? If, after the commencement of hostilities, he resisted his enemies to the last, and killed whenever he could, it was only acting in self defence, to make the worst of it. As long as the English were the aggressors, they were then, of course, the cause of all the calamities which followed. His father Massasoit, and his ill fated brother Alexander were merely allies and not subjects to the English, as their treaties can prove; and Philip very rightly contended that he should be equally independent. There was, however, a great change in the affairs of the colony, since the time of Massasoit to that of Philip. The colonists are now strong, numerous and ambitious. They want no more the alliance of an Indian chief, but his allegiance, and with this policy they acted towards Philip, who preferred the war dance to the humiliating terms which they proposed to him.

We come now to his death, which he so often evaded, even when he was chased and fired on, without either a tribe, or a single companion. At his last hour, however, he was surrounded by a faithful band of followers, whom he advised to desert him, as he foresaw from his dream the night previous, that his end was at hand. In a few minutes after-

wards he was surprised by the English, and shot through the heart. This brief sketch of that great man who shall ever live in the history of America, is far from being sufficient to give the reader a correct idea of his real character. He was persecuted even unto death, for two cowardly ruffians fired at him twice, while he was lying down carelessly in a swamp, musing in deep silence and sorrow, over the misfortunes which had befallen himself and his nation through the treachery of the white man, whom his father and brother protected in their infancy and poverty, when they were attacked by famine and sickness.

We shall now conclude this brief article, by mentioning the fate of his son. His boy was only nine years of age, when he was sold as a slave. He was destined to be sent to Bermuda ; but some scruples having arisen among some members of the government, they consulted their pious clergymen, as to what course they should pursue. A Mr. Cotton gave as his opinion that he should be put to death, on the ground, that he was the son of a rebel. Dr. Mather supported the same opinion, but as there was a little more humanity in the government, the child was spared. Finally, we have only to say on this point, that the present enlightened people of Massachusetts, distinguished as they certainly are for their generosity, humanity and refinement, would be the last in our opinion to persecute a Red Man or violate a treaty with another Philip.

THE NARRAGANSETTS.

As we have already said, this nation or confederacy inhabited a part of Rhode Island, and the islands of the bay called after them. Besides, there were many other tribes tributary or subject to them. They could, without a doubt, bring two or three thousand warriors to the field. They were usually the inveterate enemies of the Pokanokets; but through the influence of Philip, they buried the hatchet

and became his best supporters and his most powerful allies. There has been some misunderstanding among annalists and historians respecting their chief sachem at the time of the English settlement in that country. The most rational conclusion that we can come to, is, that Canonicus, the elder prince, associated with him in the government, Miantonomo, his nephew; the former, being advanced in years, and unable to superintend the affairs of their extensive territories. That they both ruled jointly, we have every reason to believe. Of this we are assured by Roger Williams, so well known in the early history of New England. This gentleman, on account of his religious principles was persecuted, both by the government of Plymouth and Massachussets; Mr. Williams therefore crossed over among the Narragansetts, and, as he himself acknowledges, Canonicus, not only received him with kindness, but granted himself and followers from Salem, a considerable portion of land, where they might worship their God as they pleased. These were certainly strange proceedings, on the part of people, who, in order to enjoy liberty of conscience, left their native country, and landed as pilgrims on the Plymouth rocks.

The Narragansetts were always jealous of the English colony; still, Williams and his disciples received the hand of friendship from the rulers. On one occasion, Canonicus sent a messenger to Plymouth, with a bundle of arrows, enclosed in a rattle-snake's skin, the customary challenge to war. In reply the Plymouth governor returned the same skin containing gunpowder and bullets. The Indian chieftain, no doubt, dreading even to handle this strange and complimentary present, declined to have any thing at all to do with it; so he ordered the powder and balls to be taken immediately back to Plymouth. Canonicus, having previously witnessed the effects of gunpowder, came to the conclusion, that bows and arrows were helpless weapons against what the Indians called the "anger of the Great Spirit." After the combined forces of the English and the Narragansetts had completely defeated the Pequots, in 1638,

it was covenanted that the Mohegans and the Narragansetts should make peace, and bury in oblivion all their former animosities. At this time Miantonomo, the royal associate of Canonicus, appears as the principal leader of the Narragansetts. Uncas was the chief of the Mohegans, who are said to have been a branch of the Pequots. Owing to this connexion, and the rivalry between Uncas and Miantonomo, the treaty was violated by the latter. After several unsuccessful attempts on the part of the Narragansett chief to take the life of Uncas, by hiring even some of the Mohegan and Pequot tribe to do it, he resolved to invade his country. Having raised about 1000 warriors, he marched into the territories of Uncas, who, on hearing his approach, prepared himself for the attack, and went out to meet him with 500 men. Having encountered each other, Uncas defeated his adversary by stratagem and led him captive to the Mohegan country. He carried his prisoners to Hartford and laid the whole affair before the magistrates. As the English and Mohegans were leagued together, they advised Uncas to put Miantonomo to death, because they considered that the life of Uncas could not be safe as long as Miantonomo lived. Uncas, accordingly, marched off with his royal captive to the very spot where he had made him prisoner. Immediately, on arriving at that place, a Mohegan came behind Miantonomo and split his head with an axe. This was undoubtedly a refined advice on the part of the civilized and religious pilgrims. To despatch a man from behind without a moment's warning, speaks highly of those religious times. Governor Hopins, the learned and eminent patriot, speaks in the following terms of this disgraceful tragedy.

"This was the end of Miantonomo, the most potent Indian prince the people of New England had ever any concern with; and this was the reward he received for assisting them seven years before, in their war with the Pequots. Surely a Rhode Island man may be permitted to mourn his unhappy fate, and drop a tear on the ashes of Miantonomo; who, with his uncle Canonicus, were the best

friends and greatest benefactors the colony of Rhode Island ever had. They kindly received, fed, and protected the first settlers of it, when they were in distress, and were strangers and exiles, and all mankind else their enemies; and by this kindness to them drew upon themselves the resentment of the neighbouring colonies, and hastened the untimely end of the young king."

THE PEQUOTS.

This was another numerous and powerful nation, inhabiting principally that part of Connecticut where New London now stands. The Nipmucks to the north of them, as well as many other tribes, were tributary to them. Among all the nations of New England, the Pequots are said to have been able to bring more warriors to the field, than any other. The number of 4000 men is no small or inconsiderable force, even at the present day; still that confederacy mustered on one occasion as many. It would have been a strange and terrific sight to a European, on his first arrival on this continent, to witness four or five thousand of those savages dance the war dance, yelling out the war whoops, and attired at the same time in their barbarous costume, and having their visage disfigured with a variety of paints, and their heads ornamented with a crown of plumage of various colours. Their appearance certainly indicated nothing less than the height and extremes of barbarity. In time of peace, however, the Indians were to be considered in a different light. They were often found to be honest, intelligent, magnanimous, faithful, and generous. The present mode of warfare practised by the most refined nations in the world is equally barbarous, and in our opinion more so. The Indians knew nothing better than to take life; and, indeed, their religion taught them that it was highly meritorious and pleasing to the Great Spirit. Our religion, on the contrary, condemns the shedding of blood. even of our enemies;

and still we, with our powder and ball, destroy more lives in one day, than almost all the Indians of New England could do in one century. Thus far we have deviated from our subject, which we must now resume.

When the Pequots were in their power and glory, the Narragansetts alone would dare resist them, and between the two nations the most bloody battles were fought. The Narragansetts were scarcely or never able to defeat them until the English, under Mason, joined the former; then, and not till then, the Pequots were subdued and vanquished. The first Pequot sachem with whom the English became acquainted was Pekoath, a warrior of great renown; the next was Sassacus, another great warrior. These two, are said, by historians, to have always borne the most inveterate hatred against Europeans. Whether the whites had given the Pequots any reasonable grounds for this animosity, it is hard to say; but, we may reasonably suppose that they abused the friendship of the Pequots as well as that of all the other Indian nations with whom they had any intercourse or dealing. As the English were going on conquering and exterminating the Red Men all around them, the Plymouth government, that of Massachusetts and Connecticut, aided by the Narragansetts, under the noted Mason, completed the final subjugation of the Pequots. They burned sixty or seventy Indian villages, with their women and children who had no time, nor even the possibility of escaping. This scene of slaughter, carnage, and burning alive helpless women and babes, is described by the English themselves as horrid and dreadful; still these civilized and pious men delight in handing down to posterity their execrable deeds.

Sassacus, was at last compelled to take refuge among the Mohawks with a few followers. Thus has an independent warrior wandered for weeks and months, alone in the swamps of Connecticut, exhausted, desolate, and at last so desperate, that his life was a burden to him. In place of being protected among the Mohawks he and a few warriors

who followed him, were put to death on account of former hostilities.

PAWTUCKETS.

We shall now proceed with a short notice of this confederacy and their grand sachem Passaconaway. This veteran, for such we may call him, having been far advanced in years when the English first knew him, is generally said to have died at the extreme old age of 120 years. This chieftain was known among the Indians, as the "Great sagamore of Pannuhog," or Penacook, which was the original name of an Indian tribe in what is now called the state of New Hampshire. It seems, however, that he had many tribes subject to him, some in New Hampshire and some in the present state of Massachusetts. He resided sometimes on the Merrimack River which flows through New Hampshire, through a part of Massachusetts, into the Atlantic; hence he has been frequently styled by the early historians of New England, the chief sachem of Merrimack. Pawtucket, however, was the national name of all the confederates. About 1642 the most summary measures were taken by the Massachusetts government to disarm the great sagamore of Pannuhog, for no other reason, than the idle report that the Indians of the country had conspired against the life of the English, for which there was not the least foundation, as they afterwards discovered to their shame. Not being able to arrest him, they dragged his son, a squaw and her child to Boston and imprisoned them. His son however escaped from them, but not until they had fired on him. Some historians find great fault with those sages of New England for this extraordinary proceeding against Passaconaway, who had hitherto been friendly to the English, and moreover, who had maintained his independence. The New Englanders, have had, of course, advocates to apologise for this rash conduct and the like, by a

reference to the excitement of the times in which they lived, but this excitement should never induce them to declare war against, and exterminate a friendly and inoffensive people. This plea will not satisfy modern politicians.

The sagacity and self command of this grand sagamore overlooked the ill treatment which he and his family had received from the English; and they were soon perfectly reconciled. His conversion to christianity has often been questioned, while others affirm it as a positive fact. Whatever might have been his own belief, it is true, however, that he was friendly to that religion. Passaconaway has been represented as the greatest conjuror of the age in which he lived. He excelled in the arts of legerdemain so much, that the Indians believed he could make water burn, trees dance, metamorphose himself into a flame, raise in winter a green leaf from a dry one, and a living serpent from the skin of one which was dead. In one of his last speeches, he cautioned the Indians not to quarrel with the English. Without detailing the different good qualities of the grand sagamore of Penacook, we may class him among the first warriors and statesmen of the Indian race.

FIVE NATIONS, AFTERWARDS THE SIX NATIONS.

This confederacy, commonly called by the English, the Five Nations, consisted originally, or when first known to Europeans, of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas and the Senecas. In the process of time, however, they were joined by the Tuscaroras; and from that period they were known as the Six Nations. Among the French they had the appellation of Iroquois, among the Dutch, that of Maquas, but by the Indians of Virginia, they were generally called Massawomekes, and by themselves Mingoes. According to Smith as well as Morse, each nation of the Iroquois, otherwise the Five or Six Nations, was

divided into three families of different ranks, bearing for their arms, and being distinguished by the names of the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf. Their instruments of conveyances were signed by signatures, which they made with a pen, representing the figures of those animals. Hence there appears to have been three orders of state among them. When the Dutch began the settlement of New-York, all the Indians on Long Island and the northern shore of the Sound, on the banks of Connecticut River, Hudson, Delaware, and Susquehanna Rivers, were in subjection to the Five Nations, and acknowledged it by paying tribute to them annually. In the war with Great Britain these nations (inhabiting the northern and western parts of New-York) were allies of that power; and in 1779 they were entirely defeated by the American troops, and their towns all destroyed. The Mohawks and the greater part of the Cayugas have removed into Canada. The residue now live on grounds called the State Reservations; the state of New-York having taken these Indians under its protection.

At the time of the French settlement in Canada, the Five Nations were the proprietors of that territory on the banks of the St. Lawrence, where Montreal now stands, which period was about the year 1603. When the French became acquainted with them, they were engaged in a desperate war with another nation, called the Adirondacks. Without alluding here to the various victories which the one nation obtained over the other during a long struggle, it may suffice to say, that the most bloody battles were fought between them with alternate success, until the brave Adirondacks were completely overthrown by the Iroquois. One victory followed the other, and the Iroquois or Five Nations swept every thing before them. The Eries inhabiting the south side of Lake Erie, the Andersteez, the Showanous, the Hurons and Ottawas, of the upper Mississippi, the Illinois of the west, with the Miamies and Shawanees were totally subdued by them. Such was the terror which the Mohawk name spread abroad, that from east to west,

from north to south, almost all the tribes of Indians who heard of the victorious career of the Iroquois, dreaded the approach of so dangerous a foe.

As the character of the Five Nations has already been given, it is needless for us to say much more concerning that powerful confederacy, whose oratory and martial disposition should ever immortalize them among the other rude tribes of North America; it is to be sincerely regretted that those unfortunate people had not experienced a different treatment from their first white visitors from Europe, who in place of coming with the mild and conciliatory spirit of christianity, came as wolves and devouring lions to kill and exterminate the simple and ignorant natives of America, who might otherwise with the help of civilization and religion, be ranked among the other refined nations of the earth.

LOGAN.

As the immortal Logan was a chief of the Six Nations, we shall not proceed farther, without noticing a man so famous in American history. The Cayugas having been one of the Six Nations that formed that powerful confederacy, that swept every thing before them, like a torrent rushing from the mountain top, Logan is generally styled the Cayuga chief. He was the second son of Shikellimus, whom Heckewelder represents, as a respectable chief of the Six Nations, who resided at Shamokin, (Pennsylvania) as an agent, to transact business between them and the government of the state.

We first became acquainted with Logan through the Moravian missionaries, whom his father invited to settle in his own vicinity. They describe him as an hospitable, shrewd and temperate man, never taking part with the riots, and quarrels of the other Indians. Shikellimus was a convert to christianity, in which he firmly believed, according to

the Moravian missionaries. "In the year 1749," says Loskiel, "he fell happily asleep in the Lord."

Our notice of Logan must, inevitably, be short. His political career was not of long duration. It is not, however, his martial exploits, that entitle him to a place on the page of history. Yet Logan was a warrior and an orator. His memorable speech which is contained in this work, has excited the admiration of our most refined scholars, and shall be preserved for ages, as a specimen of Indian oratory, brief as it is. In this speech he declares, that he had always been the friend of the White Man, until his family was utterly destroyed, so that not one drop of his blood ran through the veins of any one living. Logan inherited all the good qualities of his father; but Logan was unfortunately placed in different circumstances, which compelled him to seek revenge; he sought and found it, as he himself candidly acknowledges. His people were plundered and killed by the banditti, who at that time scoured the country in quest of spoils. They were neither guided by law nor any sense of humanity. The persecuted and exiled Indians were their prey. They spared nothing that came in their way, until the family of Logan became their victims. In their lawless excursions, a certain Colonel Cresap headed a band of those freebooters, and proceeded in their lawless career down the Kenhawa, seeking revenge of some Indians whom they accused of having committed a robbery and murder on the Ohio. Having spied a canoe crossing the river, with one man and some women and children, they fired on them, whenever they landed, and killed them all, and unfortunately this was the family of Logan.

Another massacre soon followed near Wheeling, Virginia. Here the whites again fell on a party of unsuspecting Indians and destroyed them all except one girl; and among them were also a brother and sister of Logan. Our hero could no longer contain himself within his usual self-command, although he had witnessed scenes which should arouse the feelings of a man less patriotic than he was. A bloody war was therefore the consequence of those shameful

outrages on the Indians. On the 10th of October, of the year 1774, an obstinate battle was fought on Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the great Kenhawa, in West Virginia, between the combined Shawanees, Mingoes, and Delawares, on the one side, and the Virginians, on the other. It lasted six or seven hours. The Virginians came off victorious, but not without the loss of many of their superior officers, including two colonels, and fifty privates. The loss of the Indians, has not been ascertained. It was after this battle that the celebrated speech of Logan was delivered at a treaty which ensued. The melancholy history of Logan is now closed. Shortly after this treaty he was murdered by a party of whites, on his way from Detroit to his own country, so that at last he paid dearly for his friendship and services to the whites.

MOHAWKS.

This was a famous tribe of Indians, who inhabited along the Mohawk River in the state of New York, and were the head tribe of the Six Nations. The Mohawk language which is the language of the Six Nations, is wholly destitute of labials, or has no words which require the lips to be closed in pronouncing them. In this respect, it is perhaps different from any other language. The strength of mind and memory which the Mohawks possessed, will appear from the following fact. In the year 1689, commissioners from Boston, Plymouth, and Connecticut, had a conference with the Five Nations, (afterwards Six Nations) at Albany. A Mohawk sachem in a long oration answered the English message, and repeated all that had been said the preceding day. The art that they had to assist their memories was this. The sachem who presided, had a bundle of sticks prepared for the purpose, and at the close of every principal article of the message delivered to them, gave a stick to another sachem, charging him

with the remembrance of it. By this means the orator, after a previous conference with the other sachems, was prepared to repeat every part of the message, and give it its proper reply. As the Mohawks were strongly attached to the Johnson family, on account of Sir William Johnson, so they emigrated to Canada with Sir John Johnson, about the year 1776. The principal part of the tribe settled on Grand River, in Upper Canada, in the vicinity of the flourishing town of Brandtford, called after the Indian chief of the name of Brandt.

MOHEGANS.

The Mohegans was a numerous tribe of Indians, who possessed a considerable part of the present territory of Connecticut, at the time of the first arrival of the English. According to Dr. Edwards, their language abounded with labials; had no diversity of gender, either in nouns or pronouns, and no adjectives; and seemed to be radically different from the language of the Mohawks of New-York. Although these nations of Indians lived at no great distance apart, there was not to be found one word in either language, which had any analogy to the corresponding word in the language of the other. The Mohegans were distinguished by their friendship to the white people. The remnant of this tribe, together with the Stockbridge Indians, migrated and settled near Lake Oneida, in the state of New-York.*

SEMINOLES.

The Seminoles, or Lower Creeks, inhabited formerly East and West Florida. They enjoyed a superabundance

* Sampson.



of the necessities of life; contented and undisturbed they appeared as blithe and free as the birds of the air, and like them as volatile and active, tuneful and vociferous. The visage, action and deportment of a Seminole is the most striking picture of happiness in this life. Joy, contentment, love, and friendship without guile or affectation, seem inherent in them, or predominant in their vital principle; for it leaves them but with the last breath of life. On one hand you see among them troops of boys; some fishing, some shooting with the bow, some enjoying one kind of diversion and some another; on the other hand are seen beves of girls, wandering through orange groves and over fields and meadows, gathering flowers and berries in their baskets, or lolling under the shades of flowery trees, or chasing one another in sport, and striving to paint each other's faces with the juice of the berries.

CHOCTAWS, OR FLATHEADS.

The Choctaws were a cunning, courageous and powerful nation of Indians, inhabiting a fertile country between Alabama and Mississippi rivers. They were called by the traders, Flatheads. All the males having the fore and hind part of their skulls actually flattened; which is done in the following manner: soon after the child is born, he is laid on his back, in a case; the part where the head is placed having the form of a brick mould. Then there is laid on the forehead of the infant a bag of sand, which, by a continual gentle pressure, gives the head somewhat the form of a brick, from the temples upwards; and by these means they have lofty foreheads, sloping off backwards. The Choctaws are slovenly, but industrious; they had large plantations, where they employed much of their time in agricultural improvements.

DELAWARES.

On whatever portion of this continent the first European settlers might have found an Indian settlement, every tribe had among them a tradition, that they migrated thither, either from the east or the west, or from the north or the south, which goes to prove what little knowledge they have of their own origin or descent. It is also a singular fact, that, ever since the arrival of Europeans on the coasts of America, many of the numerous tribes who once covered this extensive country, have been found to retrace their steps to their starting-places, so far as tradition and memory can assist them in so doing. This is nature itself: for how often do we see quadrupeds, which may have strayed from home, or been driven from it for many miles, return in the same manner ?

The original name of the Delawares (from Lord de la War) was Lenni Lenape, signifying in their own Indian language, *original people*. They are said to have emigrated in company with the Five Nations from beyond the Mississippi, in the course of which migration the Delawares divided themselves into three tribes, called the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf. In the time of William Penn they were the principal inhabitants of Pennsylvania, so that their settlements extended from the Potomac to the Hudson. As the white population began to increase in these territories, the Delawares, as a matter of course, were compelled to withdraw and make room for their conquerors. While a great portion of this nation has settled in Ohio, on the banks of the Muskingum, others have been gradually moving towards the western banks of the Mississippi, whence, their tradition tells them, they originally started.

The Delawares were once a powerful, numerous and formidable nation, and frequently a terror to the Five Nations. During the revolutionary war, they happened to be divided in their politics, whence arose two parties, the one for peace and the other for war. Captain Pipe, of the Wolf tribe, joined

the British interests; while Captain White Eyes strove with all his might to prevent the Delawares from interfering on either side. The influence of Captain White Eyes had certainly been the sole cause of pacifying and quelling the whole nation; at last he succeeded so far as to hinder any active interference. On the death, however, of White Eyes, his antagonist Captain Pipe acquired the ascendancy, which at once enabled them to join the British and fight against the Americans.

OTTAWAS.

In speaking of the tribes, in the north their early history is generally furnished by the first French settlers in Canada. We are told therefore by these sources that the Ottawas, the Chippewas and the Pottawattamies resided on the borders of the upper lakes, between Ontario, Erie and Huron. Whence these tribes came originally, that is, from what Indian stock, they might have separated themselves, according to Indian migration, we cannot, with any accuracy, say; but, the common opinion is, that they were once members of the great Algonkin nation, who, in the time of the earliest French colonists, were so widely spread over the greater part of the lower province of the Canadas. Thence, it is said, they moved towards the upper lakes. Here, during the war between France and England, the Ottawas, under Pontiac, one of the greatest Indian captains, of whom there is any record in the history of the aborigines, soon convinced both parties, of the important service, they could render to whatever side they would adhere.

After the foundation of Detroit by the French, 1701, the Ottawas soon offered them battle; but, being few in number, they were defeated, and became in future a firm ally of the French people; and indeed as we shall soon see, in our notice of Pontiac, their noted chieftain, the Ottawas in combination with several other tribes, proved themselves almost

the most dangerous Indian foe against whom the English had ever contended on the continent of America. The Indians in general, of North America, have always been more attached to the French nation than to the English. There is evidently good reason for believing this, when we observe, that the leading policy of the French, was to trade with the Indians in a peaceable and friendly manner, and not to subdue nor conquer them; but from this course, however, they frequently deviated. It is also equally manifest, that the French have intermarried among the Indians, or amalgamated with them more than any other foreign people, which will account still more clearly for Indian partiality towards them. "When the French arrived at these falls," said a Chippewa chief at a council held some years since, "they came and kissed us. They called us children, and we found them fathers. We lived like brethren in the same lodge."

We have merely introduced these observations, in order to show their motives for protecting the French during the war with the English, until the latter obtained and wrested the Canadas out of the hands of the former. But even after the surrender of those provinces by the French to the English, the Ottawas distinguished themselves on various occasions for their attachment and loyalty to the French government, as may be seen when we come to Pontiac.

PONTIAC.

Among the most distinguished of modern or ancient Indian chieftains we may fairly place Pontiac, the Ottawa chieftain. He is said to have exceeded all and every thing since the days of King Philip; and if the English were "sorely vexed" by the New England sachem, they were no less troubled by this northern warrior. His character, of course, has been the theme of different writers. He has had both friends and foes. He has been both admired and

detested. His virtues have been extolled, and his cruelty exaggerated. Notwithstanding all this difference of opinion, Pontiac has never been denied an extraordinary share of natural talents. He exercised an unlimited influence over most of the northern tribes, residing at that time on the borders of the lakes. He had neither a brother like that of Tecumseh, to support him by religion and sorcery in whatever he proposed or planned, nor did he really resort, in general, to means which could be strictly ascribed to gross imposition or deception. His mind was lofty and magnanimous within him. Independent feelings were the source of his actions. The Indian mode of warfare, no doubt, has subjected him to many calumnies; but his usual rule was, that no prisoner should be liberated or ransomed without his knowledge; and then he most frequently set his captives at liberty without recompense or remuneration. It is also a known fact, that, on many occasions, when his sachems, without his consent, gave up their prisoners of war, for a trifling reward, he compelled the same men to fetch them back to him, that he himself might give them their freedom without a price. Pontiac was a faithful friend to the French, both before and after the government of the Canadas was surrendered to the English.

There are very few of his speeches extant from which we can learn his oratorical power, but the following may suffice to give some idea of his greatness. It was delivered at a conference with the French at Detroit, on the 23d of May, 1763.

“My Brothers! I have no doubt but this war is very troublesome to you, and that my warriors, who are continually passing and repassing through your settlements, frequently kill your cattle, and injure your property. I am sorry for it, and hope you do not think I am pleased with this conduct of my young men. And, as a proof of my friendship, recollect the war you had seventeen years ago, (1746) and the part I took in it. The northern nations combined together, and came to destroy you. Who defended you? Was it not myself and my young men?

Why do you think I would turn my arms against you ? Am I not the same French Pontiac, who assisted you seventeen years ago ? I am a Frenchman, and I wish to die a Frenchman.

"I did not wish to ask you to fight with us against the English, and I did not believe you would take part with them. You will say you are not with them. I know it; but your conduct amounts to the same thing, you will tell them all we do and say. You carry our counsels and plans to them. Now take your choice. You must be entirely French, like ourselves, or entirely English. If you are French, take this belt for yourselves, and your young men, and join us. If you are English we declare war against you."

This brief and pointed address speaks volumes for the character of Pontiac, and describes the hero better than the pen of any historian.

CALIFORNIANS.

The Californians, according to Perouse, inhabit a large peninsula of North America, lying eastward of New Mexico, between the Gulf of California and the Pacific Ocean; extending in length from the tropic of Cancer, to the 28th degree of north latitude, about 300 leagues, and in breadth, from sea to sea, not more than 40 leagues. The Californians draw the bow with inimitable skill; and will bring down the smallest birds with unerring aim. One of these Indians will fix upon his own, the head with the horns of a stag; will walk on all fours; brouse the grass; and by this, and other means, so deceive herds of these animals, that they shall, without alarm, permit him to approach near enough to kill them with his arrows

CREEKS.

These people, otherwise called Muskogeas, are a powerful nation of Indians inhabiting the middle parts of Georgia, along the River Mobile. They are called Creek Indians, by reason of the creeks and rivulets, which abound in their country. Their soil is extremely fruitful, and the climate delicious; they are cultivators of the soil; they permit no kind of spiritous liquors to be used or brought into their towns. They are faithful friends, but inveterate enemies; hospitable to strangers, and honest and fair in their dealings. Their women are very small, their hands and feet being no larger than those of Europeans of nine or ten years of age. They are well formed; their visage round, features regular and beautiful; the eye large, black and languishing. The men are a full size, larger than Europeans. Their mode of marrying is this: the bridegroom takes a cane, or reed, and fixes it upright in the ground; then the bride sticks down another reed by the side of his, which finishes the marriage ceremony. This, however, must be done in the presence of company. The couple then exchange reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of marriage. They allow of polygamy, but always punish adultery with cropping or cutting off the ears. Even a white man who should debauch one of their married women, could not escape the punishment of cropping, if he were detected and caught. However much the Creeks may have changed in many respects, for the last few years, the above description is according to Bartram.

We are furnished by the same author with the following account of the calumet or Indian pipe, as used among the Creeks. Our readers are already aware that the calumet is a symbolical instrument of great importance among the Indians of North America. By it peace or war is decided, so that scarcely any national affair is transacted among them without the Indian pipe. In the greatest heat of bat-

tle, if the calumet is offered, accepted and smoked by the hostile nation, peace is proclaimed.

"Among the Creeks," says Bartram, "a stranger, on entering the house of an Indian chief, is first presented with food, the best that the house affords. After which, the chief, filling a pipe, whose stem is about four feet long, sheathed in a speckled snake-skin, and adorned with feathers and strings of wampum; he lights it, and smokes a few whiffs, puffing the smoke first towards the sun, and then to the four cardinal points, and, lastly, over the breast of the stranger; then hands the pipe to him, who takes it and smokes. This done, conversation begins; the chief asks his guest, whence he came, together with such other questions as happen to occur."

CHEROKEES.

The **Cherokees**, a once celebrated, but now declining, nation of Indians, inhabited the northern parts of Georgia and the southern parts of Tennessee. In their disposition and manners they are grave and steady; they are dignified and circumspect in their deportment; rather slow and reserved in conversation, yet frank, cheerful and humane; tenacious of their natural rights and liberties; secret, deliberate and determined in their councils; honest, just and liberal, and are always ready to sacrifice every pleasure and gratification, even their blood and life, to defend their territory, and maintain their rights. They do homage to the Creeks with reluctance. The Creeks, their conquerors, have been heard to tell them, that they are old women, and that they have long ago obliged them to wear the petticoat. This insulting language the Cherokees are constrained to bear, although it cuts them to the heart.

The Cherokees had many chiefs and warriors no less distinguished for magnanimity, wisdom and moderation, than bravery and military prowess. As an instance of sterling

fidelity to a quondam friend, but at this time a prisoner among this tribe, Attakallakulla, or the Little Carpenter, we offer the following incident from Thatcher's Indian Biography.

"On the occasion of the capture of a Captain Stuart by a party of Indians, a gentleman for a long time ago favourably known to the Cherokees, Attakallakulla hastened to the fort where this gentleman was imprisoned, and purchased him of his Indian master giving him his rifle, clothes, and all he could command as a ransom; and then took him into his own family, and shared with him the provisions which his table afforded."

At another time, when Captain Stuart expressed some fear about the safety of his life among the Indians who again became his masters, the same magnanimous and grateful chieftain, for Stuart was formerly his friend, took him by the hand and addressed him in the following manner; be calm,' said he, 'be calm, my son, I am your friend—trust me.' He went forward and claimed the Englishman for *his* prisoner; and then gave out word among his countrymen, that he intended to go out a 'hunting,' for a few days, and to take his Englishman with him.

They set out together, accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother, and two others. For provisions they depended on what they could kill by the way. The distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition was necessary to prevent any surprise from the Indians pursuing them. They travelled nine days and nine nights through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course for Virginia, by the light and guidance of the heavenly bodies. On the tenth, they arrived at the banks of Holstein River; where they fortunately fell in with a party of three thousand men, sent out by Colonel Bird for the relief of such soldiers as might make their escape that way from fort Loudon. Here the chieftain was content to relinquish his charge. He bade his friend farewell, and as composedly as if the whole transaction were a matter of course, turned

back into the wilderness, and retraced his long and wearisome journey.

It is said also that Captain Stuart often expressed himself in the most grateful expressions to this Indian chief, frequently admiring, not only his faithfulness to him during his captivity, but also his loftiness of soul, a quality which he was not always prepared to meet with among rude tribes of Indians.

These and many other acts of kindness were performed by Attakallakulla towards the whites; but as this work must be brief in noticing the tribes of North America and their leading men, we have only to say of this magnanimous and brave warrior that his martial character and generous spirit would do credit to more refined nations than the Indians.

SHAWANEES.

There are indeed few tribes of Indian nations who claim a higher title to notice than those from whom the celebrated Tecumseh was descended. According to their own tradition, the Shawanees came originally from the south, and dwell in the neighbourhood of Savannah, in Georgia, and also in the Floridas. They were always considered a warlike, independent, and restless people. On account of their martial and wandering disposition they were compelled to move towards the north, as they were frequently inferior in numbers to their neighbouring tribes, such as the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks and others. Having migrated northward, their main body settled upon the Ohio, some in that place which is now called Pittsburg, and others in different parts of Pennsylvania. Having become very numerous in the course of a few years, and formed a confederacy between themselves and the Delawares, they soon commenced hostilities against the Cherokees. Many bloody battles ensued, in which the Shawanees were often successful. They

afterwards turned their arms against the white settlers of Virginia, when these Indians proved to be more dangerous and troublesome than all the other tribes of Indians. We are assured by Marshall and Loskiel that the Shawanees were the most mischievous, the most active, as well as the most savage of Indian nations. Every American who is acquainted with the history of his country must be well aware of the troubles which the tribe of Tecumseh have given us from time to time; but these warfares we must overlook as the results of mutual hostilities. Who was right and who was wrong, that is to say, who the aggressors were we can scarcely tell at the present time; for, no doubt, there were cruelties and barbarities on both sides.

In speaking of the Shawanee tribe it would certainly appear rather ungenerous to pass over the name of their great warrior, statesman and orator, without devoting a few observations to the name of Tecumseh.

When we speak of this singular and extraordinary chieftain, who struck terror into the breasts of our bravest soldiers, and was even on the point of almost overthrowing the government of our country, both by his moral and physical courage, in whom they were both equally blended, we should not treat of Tecumseh as a mere Indian warrior, who in a general point of view is seldom more than a savage and barbarian.

TECUMSEH.

Perhaps there never did exist on this continent a more warlike or hostile people than the Shawanees, the tribe of Tecumseh; and fully did this hero inherit all the qualities of a warrior. There have really been few chieftains of the Indian race superior or even equal to that soldier and orator. We may speak as long as we please about natural gifts, education, refinement and all such accomplishments; but some of the speeches of Tecumseh contain as much good

sense and wit as any sensible, intelligent, and educated man could produce. His eloquence was "strong, stern, sententious, pointed, and perfectly undisguised." His native country was on the banks of the Scioto near Chillicothe. His father is said to have been for certainty, a Shawanee, and his mother a Cherokee, who was carried off a prisoner of war, by the Shawanees. The year of his birth is not exactly known, but some suppose it to have been about the year 1780. No other Indian leader ever gave more trouble to the whole of the frontier of the states than he: and it was Tecumseh that revived and rekindled the spirit of revenge in the breasts of the Shawanees and their allies, after they had been driven to the west by the American troops. The Kentuckians likewise suffered more depredation from the incursions of this hero and banditti, than from any other Indian foe.

Tecumseh, had evidently greater advantages in acquiring popularity with his countrymen than most other leaders had with theirs. He had a brother who assumed a religious character and that of a prophet. All their plans were conceived and formed at a very early period. They denounced and condemned all connexion with the whites, from whom the Red Men had learned all their bad habits. The use of liquors they forbade as the most destructive enemy they had. There was a regular understanding and communication between the two in all their movements. They advanced gradually and cautiously in the execution of their plans, the one aiding the other. The prophet overawed with religion, while the other convinced with oratory, they were both very temperate in eating and drinking, and exemplary throughout their whole conduct. All their sayings and actions were said and done for the improvement and elevation of their countrymen. They depicted in lively colours the general degradation of the Indians. Even in their plundering excursions, they showed the greatest disinterestedness in claiming their share of the booty; they appeared to be utterly careless about even an equal portion: their whole system of operation was a per-

fect and regular machinery, never to be found out of order ; a radical reform in the manners of his people, was what they wanted, without which they never could rise to their primitive greatness. In this manner they could not but gain the respect and confidence of their nation, which, being once obtained, they would find but little difficulty in accomplishing their designs ; for it was easy then to impose on Indian superstition. For the amusement of the reader, we shall here offer a specimen of the doctrine propagated among the tribe of Tecumseh, on a certain occasion, by a Shawanee chief. "The master of life" said he, "who was himself an Indian, made the Shawanees before any others of the human race and they sprang from his brain. That after he had made the Shawaneese, he made the French and English out of his breast ; he made the Dutch out of his feet." These and many other ridiculous doctrines were taught by the Shawaneese prophets among their own people, so that the tribe of Tecumseh were wrought at last into a belief of their own superiority over all other tribes of Red Men. Whatever might have been the measures and plans which the prophet and the orator adopted in arriving at their object, which was, no doubt, their own elevation, as well as the independence of their nation, both of them evinced an extraordinary degree of self command, moderation and sagacity, as well as cunning, and superior talents. If their schemes did not succeed, they certainly did their best ; their motives were good, which no person can deny ; they fought for the lands and liberty of the Red Man. This was patriotism, without a doubt. Tecumseh, therefore, may well be placed among the most disinterested patriots that ever fought for Indian rights. But he was not only a warrior, a statesman, but an orator of the first order, if Indians are allowed to be eloquent

RED JACKET, THE SENECA CHIEF.

There have been already so many compliments paid to this chief for his eloquence as an orator, that it might perhaps seem superfluous to say any thing in this work respecting his power of oratory. Red Jacket, however, has greater claims to praise and admiration for natural genius than any other Indian chief that we can mention. His Indian name, was Saguaha, or the Keeper-awake. The great rival of Red Jacket for the chieftainship among the Senecas was Cornplanter, some of whose speeches are still extant, and reflect no ordinary credit on his talents. Seeing himself on the decline of popularity among his countrymen, like the illustrious Tecumseh, he persuaded his brother to announce himself a prophet. The contention was between himself and Red Jacket, who was rising fast in the estimation of the Senecas as Cornplanter was declining. One of the extraordinary efforts in oratory on the part of Red Jacket was to vindicate himself against the accusation, of the prophet, Cornplanter's brother, at a great Indian council, near Buffalo Creek. "At this crisis" says an eminent writer, "he well knew that the future colour of his life depended upon the powers of his mind. He spoke in his defence for near three hours. The iron brow of superstition relented under the magic of his eloquence; he declared the prophet an impostor and a cheat; he prevailed; the Indians divided, and a small majority appeared in his favour. Perhaps the annals of history cannot furnish a more conspicuous instance of the triumph and power of oratory, in a barbarous nation, devoted to superstition, and looking up to the accuser as a delegated minister of the Almighty."*

On another occasion, when a treaty was held with the Six Nations in the vicinity of Lake Canandaigua, Red Jacket is said to have been no less felicitous. "Two days," says our Indian biographer, "had passed away in negotiation

* Governor Clinton's discourse.

with the Indians for a cession of their lands. The contract was supposed to be nearly completed, when Red Jacket arose. With the grace and dignity of a Roman senator, he drew his blanket around him, and with a piercing eye, surveyed the multitude, all was hushed. Nothing interposed to break the silence, save the gentle nestling of the tree-tops, under whose shade they were gathered. After a long and solemn, but not unmeaning pause, he commenced his speech in a low voice, and a sententious style. Rising gradually with his subject, he depicted the primitive simplicity and happiness of his nation, and the wrongs they had sustained from the usurpations of white men, with such a bold but faithful pencil, that every auditor was soon roused to vengeance or melted into tears. The effect was inexpressible. But ere the emotions of admiration and sympathy had subsided, the white men became alarmed. They were in the heart of an Indian country, surrounded by more than ten times their number, who were inflamed by the remembrance of their injuries, and excited to indignation by the eloquence of a favourite chief. Appalled and terrified, the white men cast a cheerless gaze upon the hordes around them. A nod from the chiefs might be the onset of destruction. At that portentous moment, Farmer's brother interposed. He replied not to his brother chief; but with a sagacity truly aboriginal, he caused a cessation of the council, introduced good cheer, commended the eloquence of Red Jacket, and before the meeting had re-assembled, with the aid of other prudent chiefs, he had moderated the fury of his nation to a more salutary review of the question before them."

We might here cite numerous instances of the eloquence of Red Jacket; but as his oratory is universally admitted to be of the highest order, we shall now only refer the reader to some of his speeches contained in this work. At one time Red Jacket was hostile to American interests; and to peace he was inveterately opposed, until some wrongs done his nation had been redressed. He afterwards became warmly attached to the Americans. There were indeed few

Indian chiefs, who exerted themselves with so much zeal against the introduction of Christianity among his people, as he did. 'The Black coats,' as he called the missionaries, completely failed in effecting the least change in his Pagan principles, yet many of his tribe and nation had been converted to the Christian religion. This brave warrior and eloquent orator, died at the Seneca village, near Buffalo, in January, 1830.

INDIAN SPEECHES, &C.

The following is an extract from "Jefferson's Notes on Virginia," and speaks highly of the Indian character, so far as moral courage and national abilities are concerned.

"Of their bravery and address in war," he says, "we have multiplied proofs, because we have been the subjects on which they were exercised. Of their eminence in oratory, we have fewer examples, because it is displayed chiefly in their own councils. Some we have, however, of very superior lustre.

"I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of many more eminent orators (if Europe has furnished more eminent,) to produce a single passage superior to the speech of Logan, a Mingo chief, to Lord Dunmore, when Governor of Virginia; and as a testimony of their talents in this line, I beg leave to introduce it, first stating the incidents necessary for understanding it.

"In the spring of the year 1774, a robbery was committed by some Indians on certain land adventurers on the River Ohio. The whites in that quarter, *according to their custom*, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way Captain Michael Cresap, and a certain Daniel Greathouse, leading on these parties, surprised, at different times, travelling and hunting parties of the Indians, having their women and children with them, and murdered many. Among these were unfortunately the family of Logan; a chief, celebrated

in peace and war, and long distinguished as the friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance: he accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year, a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the great Kenhawa, between the collected forces of the Shawanese, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia; the Indians were defeated and sued for peace.

"Logan, however, disdained to be seen among the supplicants. But, lest the sincerity of a treaty should be disturbed from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent, by a messenger, the following speech, to be delivered to Lord Dunmore:"

SPEECH OF LOGAN.

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man, Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. *There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature.*

"This called on me for revenge, I have sought it; I have killed many: I have glutted my vengeance; for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the *joy of fear*. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

The speech of the five Iroquois chiefs,* who visited England in the reign of Queen Anne. The following excellent address was delivered by them before her majesty :

SPEECH OF THE IROQUOIS CHIEFS.

"GREAT QUEEN.—We have undertaken a long and tedious voyage, which none of our predecessors could be prevailed upon to undertake. The motive that induced us was, that we might see our great queen, and relate to her those things we thought absolutely necessary, for the good of her, and us, her allies, on the other side the great water. We doubt not but our great queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious war, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies the French ; and that we have been as a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best men. The truth of which our brother Queder, Colonel (Peter) Schuyler, and Anadagarjau, Colonel Nicholson, can testify ; they having all our proposals in writing. We were mightily rejoiced when we heard by Anadagarjau, that our great queen had resolved to send an army to reduce Canada from whose mouth we readily embraced our great queen's instruction ; and, in token of our friendship, we hung up the kettle, and took up the hatchet ; and with one consent joined our brother Queder, and Anadagarjau, in making preparations on this side the lake, by building forts, stone houses, canoes, and batteaux ; whilst Aundiasia, Colonel Vetch, at the same time raised an army at Boston, of which we were informed by our ambassadors, when we sent thither for that purpose, we waited long in expectation of the fleet from England, to join Aundiasia, to go against Quebec by sea, whilst Anadagarjau, Queder, and we, went to Port Royal by land ; but at last we were told, that our great queen, by

* They arrived in London from the West Indies with the English fleet. With the four chiefs or kings of the Six nations, was also the Ganajoh-hore Sachem. The names of the four others, were, Te yee Neen Ho Ga Prow, and Sa Ga yean Qua Prah Ton, of the Maquas ; Elow oh Keam, and Oh Nee Yeath Ton no Prow, of the river Sachem.

some important affair was prevented in her design for that season. This made us extremely sorrowful, lest the French, who had hitherto dreaded us, should now think us unable to make war against them. The reduction of Canada is of such weight, that after the effecting thereof, we should have free hunting, and a great trade with our great queen's children; and as a token of the sincerity of the Six Nations, we do here, in the name of all, present our great queen, with the belts of wampum. We need not urge to our great queen more than the necessity we really labour under obliges us, that in case our great queen should not be mindful of us, we must, with our families, forsake our country, and seek other habitation, or stand neuter; either of which will be much against our inclinations. Since we have been in alliance with our great queen's children we have had some knowledge of the Saviour of the world; and have often been importuned by the French, both by the insinuations of their priests, but have always esteemed them men of falsehood; but if our great queen will be pleased to send over some person to instruct us, they shall find a hearty welcome; we now close, with hopes of our great queen's favour, and leave it to her most gracious consideration."

SPEECH OF HALF-KING.

The speech of Half-King to the believing Indians and their teachers, otherwise the Moravian Indians, while he engaged to take them to Canada. "Cousins; ye believing Indians in Gnaden brethren, Schaenfrunn, and Salem, I am much concerned on your account, perceiving that you live in a very dangerous spot. Two powerful, angry, and merciless gods stand ready, opening their jaws wide against each other; you are sitting down, between both, and thus in danger of being devoured and ground to powder by the teeth of either the one, or the other, or both. It is therefore not advisable for you to stay here any longer. Consider

your own people, your wives, and your children, and preserve their lives; for here they must all perish. I therefore take you by the hand, lift you up, and place you in or near my dwelling, where you will be safe and dwell in peace. Do not stand looking at your plantations and houses, but arise and follow me; Take also your teachers (priests) with you, and worship God in the place to which I shall lead you, as you have been accustomed to do. You shall likewise have fine provisions, and our father beyond the lake (the governor at Detroit) will care for you. This is my message, and I am come hither purposely to deliver it."

SPEECH OF PETCHENANALAS.

" Friends and kinsmen : listen to what I say to you. You see a great and powerful nation divided. You see the father fighting against the son, and the son against the father. The father has called on his Indian children to assist him in punishing his children, the Americans, who have become refractory. I took time to consider what I should do; whether or not I should receive the hatchet of my father, to assist him. At first I looked upon it as a family quarrel in which I was not interested, at length it appeared to me, that the father was in the right, and his children deserved to be punished a little. That this must be the case, I concluded from the many cruel acts his offspring had committed, from time to time, on his Indian children—in encroaching on their lands, stealing their property—shooting at and murdering without cause, men, women, and children;—yes, even murdering those who at all times had been friendly to them, and were placed for protection under the roof of their father's house; the father himself standing sentry at the door, at the time. Friends and relatives, often has the father been obliged to settle and make amends for the wrongs and mischiefs done us by his refractory children; yet these do not grow better. No!

they remain the same, and will continue to be so, as long as we have any land left us. Look back at the murders committed by the Long Knives on many relations, who lived peaceable neighbours to them on the Ohio! Did they not kill them without the least provocation? Are they, do you think, better now, than they were then? No, indeed not; and many days are not elapsed, since you had a number of these very men near your doors, who attempted to kill you, but, fortunately, were prevented from so doing by the Great Sun, who, at that time, had by the Great Spirit been ordained to protect you!"

SPEECH OF CAPTAIN PIPE.

The Speech of Captain Pipe, or Hopocan, which signifies, in the Indian, tobacco-pipe, before the British commandant, in the council-house at Detroit, whither he was invited to give an account of past transactions—in his left hand was a short stick to which was fastened a scalp. He arose, and spoke as follows: "Father, I have said Father, although, indeed, I do not know why I am to call him so, having never known any other father than the French, and considering the English only as brothers. But as this name is also imposed upon us, I shall make use of it, and say, Father, some time ago, you put a war hatchet into my hands, saying, 'Take this weapon and try it on the heads of my enemies, the Long Knives, and let me afterwards know if it was sharp and good.' Father, at the time when you gave me this weapon, I had neither cause nor inclination to go to war against a people who had done me no injury; yet in obedience to you, who say you are my father, and call me your child, I received the hatchet; well knowing, that if I did not obey, you would withhold from me the necessaries of life, without which I could not subsist, and which are not elsewhere to be procured, but at the house of my father. You may perhaps think me a fool, for

risking my life at your bidding, in a cause, too, by which I have no prospect of gaining anything; for it is your cause and not mine. It is your concern to fight the Long Knives; you have raised a quarrel amongst yourselves, and you ought yourselves to fight it out. You should not compel your children, the Indians, to expose themselves to danger for your sakes.

"Father; many lives have already been lost on your account; nations have suffered, and been weakened: children have lost parents!—brothers and relatives! wives have lost husbands! It is not known how many more may perish before your war will be at an end! Father, I have said, that you may perhaps, think me a fool, for thus thoughtlessly rushing on your enemy! Do not believe this, father; think not that I want sense to convince me, that although you now pretend to keep up a perpetual enmity to the Long Knives, you may before long conclude a peace with them. Father, you say you love your children, the Indians; this you have often told them, and indeed it is your interest to say so to them, that you may have them at your service. But, father, who of us can believe that you love a people of a different colour from your own, better than those who have a white skin like yourselves? Father, pay attention to what I am going to say. While you, father, are setting me (meaning the Indians in general), on your enemy, much in the same manner, as a hunter sets his dog on the game; while I am in the act of rushing on that enemy of your's, with the bloody, destructive weapon you gave me, I may, perchance, happen to look back to the place from whence you started me; and what shall I see? Perhaps I may see my father shaking hands with the Long Knives; yes with these very people he now calls his enemies. I may there see him laugh at my folly, for having obeyed his orders; and yet I am now risking my life at his command! Father, keep what I have said in remembrance. Now, Father, here is what has been done with the hatchet you gave me, (with these words he handed the stick to the commandant, with the scalp upon it, above

mentioned) I have done with the hatchet what you ordered me to do, and found it sharp. Nevertheless I did not do all that I might have done. No, I did not, my heart failed within me, I felt compassion for your enemy. Innocence (helpless women and children) had no part in your quarrels; therefore I distinguished—I spared, I took some live *flesh*, which while I was bringing to you, I spied one of your large canoes, on which I put it for you. In a few days you will recover this flesh, and find that the *skin* is of the same colour with your own. Father, I hope you will not destroy what I have saved. You, father, have the means of preserving that which with me would perish for want. The warrior is poor, and his cabin is always empty; but your house, father, is always full.”

THE ANSWER OF LITTLE TURTLE THE CHIEF OF THE
MIAMIS TO M. VOLNEY.

The answer of Little Turtle the chief of the Miamis to M. Volney, who asked him what prevented him from living among the whites, and if he were not more comfortable in Philadelphia, than upon the banks of the Wabash.

“Taking all things,” he said, “together, you have the advantage over us; but here I am deaf and dumb, I do not talk your language; I can neither hear, nor make myself heard. When I walk through the streets, I see every person in his shop employed about something: one makes shoes, another hats, a third sells cloth, and every one lives by his labour. I say to myself, which of all these things can you do: not one. I can make a bow or an arrow, catch fish, kill game, and go to war; but none of these is of any use here. To learn what is done here would require a long time, old age comes on. I should be a piece of furniture useless to my nation, useless to the whites, useless to myself. I must return to my own country.”

**THE SPEECH OF RED JACKET, THE SENECA CHIEF, TO A
MISSIONARY.**

Governor De Witt Clinton, in his most valuable discourse before the Historical Society of New York, thus notices Red Jacket : " Within a few years, an extraordinary orator has risen among the Senecas; his real name is Saguaha. Without the advantages of illustrious descent, and with no extraordinary talents for war, he has attained the first distinctions in the nation by the force of his eloquence."

After the missionary had done speaking, the Indians conferred together about two hours by themselves, when they gave an answer by Red Jacket, which follows, and which is, perhaps, the chef d'œuvre of Indian oratory.

" Friend and Brother, it was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day. He orders all things, and he has given us a fine day for our council. He has taken his garment from before the sun, and caused it to shine with brightness on us. Our eyes are opened, that we see clearly : our ears are unstopped, that we have been able to hear distinctly the words that you have spoken ; for all these favours we thank the Great Spirit, and him only.

" Brother, this council fire was kindled by you ; it was at your request that we came together at this time ; we have listened with attention to what you have said ; you requested us to speak our minds freely ; this gives us great joy, for we now consider that we stand upright before you, and can speak what we think ; all have heard your voice, and all speak to you as one man ; our minds are agreed.

" Brother, you say you want an answer to your talk before you leave this place. It is right you should have one, as you are a great distance from home, and we do not wish to detain you ; but we will first look back a little and tell you what our fathers have told us, and what we have heard from the white people.

" Brother, listen to what we say There was a time

when our forefathers owned this great land. Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of the Indians. He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food. He had made the bear and the beaver, and their skins served us for clothing. He had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread, all this he had done for his red children, because he loved them. If we had any disputes about hunting grounds, they were generally settled without the shedding of much blood; but an evil day came upon us; your forefathers crossed the great waters, and landed on this island. Their numbers were small; they found tribes, and not enemies; they told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and come here to enjoy their religions. They asked for a small seat; we took pity on them, granted their request, and they sat down among us; we gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison in return.

"The white people had now found our country, tidings were carried back, and more came among us, yet we did not fear them, we took them to be friends; they called us brothers; we believed them, and gave them a larger seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased; they wanted more land; they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place; Indians were hired to fight against Indians; and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquors among us; it was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands.

"Brother, our seats were once large, and yours were very small; you have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets; you have got our country, but are not satisfied; you want to force your religion upon us.

"Brother, continue to listen. You say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the *Great Spirit* agreeable to his mind, and if we do not take hold of the reli-

gion you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter; you say that you are right, and we are lost; how do we know ~~this~~ to be true? We understand that your religion is written in a book; if it was intended for us as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit given it to us, and not only to us, but why did he not give to our forefathers the knowledge of that book, with the means of understanding it rightly? We only know what you tell us about it; how shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people?

"Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit; if there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it. Why not all agree, as you can all read the book?

"Brother, we do not understand these things; we are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son. We also have a religion which was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us, their children. We worship that way. *It teaches us to be thankful for all the favours we receive; to love each other, and to be united; we never quarrel about religion.*

"Brother, the Great Spirit has made us all; but he has made a great difference between his white and red children; he has given us a different complexion, and different customs; to you he has given the arts; to these he has not opened our eyes; we know these things to be true. Since he has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may we not conclude that he has given us a different religion according to our understanding; the Great Spirit does right; he knows what is best for his children; we are satisfied.

"Brother, we do not wish to destroy your religion, or take it from you; we only want to enjoy our own.

"Brother, you say, that you have not come to get our land or our money, but to enlighten our minds. I will now tell you that I have been at your meetings, and saw you collecting money from the meeting. I cannot tell what

this money was intended for, but suppose it was for your minister, and if we should conform to your way of thinking, perhaps you may want some from us.

"Brother, we are told that you have been preaching to white people in this place; these people are our neighbours, we are acquainted with them; we will wait a little while and see what effect your preaching has upon them."

In alluding to the crucifixion of our Saviour he said, on some other occasion,

"Brother, if your white men murdered the son of the Great Spirit, we Indians had nothing to do with it, and it is none of our affair. If he had come among us we would not have killed him; we would have treated him well, you must make amends for that crime yourselves."

SPEECH OF RED JACKET.

The witch doctrine of the Senecas was much ridiculed by some of the Americans, to which Red Jacket thus aptly alludes in a speech which he made while on the stand giving evidence against a woman who was believed to be a witch, and who for that crime was put to death by the Indians themselves:

"What! do you denounce us as fools and bigots, because we still continue to believe that which you yourselves sedulously inculcated two centuries ago? You divines have thundered this doctrine from the pulpit, your judges have pronounced it from the bench, your courts of justice have sanctioned it with the formalities of law, and you would now punish our unfortunate brother (he that killed the woman) for adherence to the superstitions of his fathers! Go to Salem! Look at the records of your government, and you will find hundreds executed for the very crime which has called forth the sentence of condemnation upon this woman, and drawn down the arm of vengeance upon her. What have your brothers done more than the rulers of your people have done? and what crime has this man commit-

ted by executing, in a summary way, the laws of his country, and the injunctions of his God?"

SPEECH OF FARMER'S BROTHER, A SENECA CHIEF, IN A COUNCIL AT GENESEE RIVER, IN 1798.

"Brothers, as you are once more assembled in council for the purpose of doing honor to yourselves and justice to your country, we, your brothers, the sachems, chiefs, and warriors of the Seneca nation, request you to open your ears and give attention to our voice and wish. You will recollect the late contest between you and your father, the great king of England. This contest threw the inhabitants of this whole island into a great tumult and commotion, like a raging whirlwind, which tears up the trees, and tosses to and fro the leaves, so that no one knows from whence they come, or where they will fall. This whirlwind was so directed by the Great Spirit above, as to throw into our arms two of your infant children, Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones. We adopted them into our families, and made them our children. We loved them and nourished them. They lived with us many years; at length the Great Spirit spoke to the whirlwind, and it was still. A clear and an uninterrupted sky appeared. The path of peace was opened, and the chain of friendship was once more made bright. Then these our adopted children left us to seek their relations; we wished them to remain among us, and promised, if they would return and live in our country, to give each of them a seat of land for them and their children to sit down upon. They have returned, and have, for several years past, been serviceable as interpreters. We still feel our hearts beat with affection for them, and now wish to fulfill the promise we made them, and reward them for their services. We have, therefore, made up our minds to give them a seat of two square miles of land, lying on the outlets of Lake Erie, about three miles below Black Rock, beginning at the

mouth of a creek known by the name of Scyguoydes creek, running one mile from the Niagara River up said creek, thence northerly as the river runs, two miles, to the place of beginning, so as to contain two square miles. We have now made known to you our minds. We expect and earnestly request that you will permit our friends to receive this our gift, and will make the same good to them, according to the laws and customs of your nation. Why should you hesitate to make our minds easy with regard to this our request. To you it is but a little thing; and have you not complied with the request and confirmed the gifts of our brothers the Oneidas, the Onandagas, and Cayugas, to their interpreters? and shall we ask and not be heard? We send you this our speech, to which we expect your answer before the breaking up of our Great Council fire."

SPEECH OF CORNPLANTER.

The Speech of Cornplanter to President Washington, at Philadelphia in the year 1790.

"Father: the voice of the Seneca nations speaks to you: the great counsellor, in whose heart the wise men of all the thirteen fires (13 U. S.) have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we, therefore, entreat you to hearken with attention; for we are able to speak of things which are to us very great.

"When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the town destroyer; to this day, when this name is heard, our women look behind and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers.

"When our chiefs returned from Fort Stanwix and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us any thing for it: every one said, that your hearts were yet

swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would consider it with more kindness. We asked each other, What have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

"Father: when you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men assembled at them told us you were all brothers; the children of one great father, who regarded the red people as his children. They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection. They told us that he resided beyond the great water where the sun first rises; and that he was a king whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was as bright as the sun. What they said went to our hearts, we accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promise, they faithfully perform. When you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise.

"We were deceived; but your people teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive us; and we now appeal to your heart. Is all the blame ours?

"Father: when we saw that we had been deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire you had kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste towards it: you told us you could crush us to nothing; and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered to us, as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed has bound our nation, but your anger against us must by this time be cooled, and although our strength is not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly—Were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable and just?"

SPEECH OF TECUMSEH.

Speech of Tecumseh in council at Vincennes, upon the 12th August 1810, before Governor Harrison.

"It is true, I am a Shawanee. My forefathers were warriors. Their son is a warrior. From them I only take my existence; from my tribe I take nothing. I am the maker of my own fortune; and, that I could make that of my red people, and of my country, as great as the conceptions of my mind, when I think of the Spirit that rules the universe. I would not then come to Governor Harrison, to ask him to tear the treaty, and to obliterate the landmark but I would say to him, sir, you have liberty to return to your own country.

"The being within, communing with past ages, tells me, that once, nor until lately, there was no white men on this continent. That it then belonged all to red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit that made them, to keep it, to traverse it, to enjoy its productions, and to fill it with the same race. Once a happy race. Since, made miserable by the white people, who are never contented, but always encroaching. The way, and the only way, to check and stop this evil, is, for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be yet: for it never was divided, but belongs to all, for the use of each. That no part has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers: those who want all, and will not do with less. The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians: because they had it first—it is theirs. They may sell, but all must join. Any sale not made by all is not valid. The late sale is bad. It was made by a part only. Part do not know how to sell. It requires all to make a bargain for all. All red men have equal rights to the unoccupied land. The right of occupancy is as good in one place as in another. There cannot be two occupations in the same place.

The first excludes all others. It is not so in hunting or travelling; for there the same ground will serve many, as they may follow each other all day; but the camp is stationary, and that is occupancy. It belongs to the first who sits down on his blanket or skins, which he has thrown on the ground, and until he leaves it no other has a right."

The following characteristic circumstance occurred at one of the meetings at Vincennes. After Tecumseh had made a speech to Governor Harrison, and was about to seat himself in a chair, he observed that none had been placed for him. One was immediately ordered by the Governor, and as the interpreter handed it to him, he said, "Your father requests you to take a chair." "My father?" said Tecumseh, with great indignity of expression, "the sun is my father, and the earth is my mother; and on her bosom I will repose;" and immediately seated himself, in the Indian manner, upon the ground.

SPEECH OF BLACK THUNDER.

The speech of Black Thunder, or Mackanatnamakee, generally styled the patriarch of the Fox Tribe, before the American commissioners, who had assembled many chiefs at a place called the Portage, July, 1815. He rose and addressed himself thus, to the commissioners who opened the talk:

"My father, restrain your feelings, and hear calmly what I shall say. I shall say it plainly. I shall not speak with fear and trembling. I have never injured you, and innocence can feel no fear. I turn to you all, red skins and white skins—where is the man who will appear as my accuser? Father, I understand not clearly how things are working. I have just been set at liberty. Am I again to be plunged into bondage? But I am incapable of change. You may, perhaps, be ignorant of what I tell you; but it is a truth, which I call heaven and earth to witness. It is

a fact which can easily be proved, that I have been assailed in almost every possible way that pride, fear, feeling, or interest could touch me—that I have been pushed to the last to raise the tomahawk against you—but all in vain. I never could be made to feel that you were my enemy. If this be the conduct of an enemy, I shall never be your friend. You are acquainted with my removal from Prairie du Chien. I went and formed a settlement, and called my warriors around. We took counsel, and from that counsel we never have departed. We smoked, and resolved to make common cause with the United States. I sent you the pipe—it resembled this—and I sent it by the Missouri, that the Indians of the Mississippi might not know what we were doing. You received it. I then told you that your friends should be my friends—that your enemies should be my enemies—and that I only awaited your signal to make war. If this be the conduct of an enemy, I shall never be your friend. Why do I tell you this? Because it is a truth, and a melancholy truth, that the good things which men do are often buried in the ground, while their evil deeds are stripped naked, and exposed to the world. When I came here, I came to you in friendship. I little thought I should have to defend myself. I have no defence to make. If I were guilty, I should have come prepared; but I have ever held you by the hand, and I am come without excuses. If I had fought against you, I would have told you so; but I have nothing now to say here in your councils, except to repeat what I said before to my Great Father, the President of your nation. You heard it, and no doubt remember it. It was simply this. My lands can never be surrendered; I was cheated, and basely cheated, in the contract; I will not surrender my country, but with my life. Again I call heaven and earth to witness, and I smoke this pipe in evidence of my sincerity. If you are sincere, you will receive it from me. My only desire is, that we should smoke it together—that I should grasp your sacred hand: and I claim for myself and my tribe the protection of your country. When this pipe touches your lip,

may it operate as a blessing upon all my tribe. May the smoke rise like a cloud, and carry away with it all the animosities which have arisen between us."

SPEECH OF METEA.

The Speech of Metea, Chief of the Pottowattomies, at Chicago, before Governor Cass, against selling land.

"My father, we have listened to what you have said. We shall now retire to our camps and consult on it. You will hear nothing more from us at present. We met you here to-day because we had promised it, to tell you our minds, and what we have agreed upon among ourselves.

"You will listen to us with a good mind, and believe what we say. You know that we first came to this country a long time ago, and when we sat ourselves down upon it, we met with a great many hardships and difficulties. Our country then was very large, but it has dwindled away to a small spot, and you wish to purchase that. This has caused us to reflect much upon what is going forward. You know your children. Since you first came among them, they have listened to your words with an attentive ear, and have always hearkened to your counsels, whenever you have had a proposal to make to us. Whenever you have had a favour to ask of us, we have always lent a favourable ear, and our invariable answer has been 'Yes.' This you know. A long time has passed since we first came on our lands, and our old people have all sunk into their graves. They had sense. We are all young and foolish, and do not wish to do anything that they would not approve, were they living. We are fearful we shall offend their spirits, if we sell our lands; and we are fearful we shall offend you, if we do not sell them. This has caused us great perplexity of thought, because we have counselled among ourselves, and do not know how we can part with

the land. Our country was given to us by the Great Spirit, who gave it to us to hunt upon, to make our corn-fields upon, to live upon, and to make down our beds upon when we die. And he would never forgive us, should we bargain it away. When you first spoke to us for lands at St. Mary's, we said we had a little, and agreed to sell you a piece of it; but we told you we could spare no more. Now you ask us again. You are never satisfied! We have sold you a great tract of land, already; but it is not enough! We sold it to you for the benefit of your children, to farm and to live upon. We have now but little left. We shall want it all for ourselves. We know not how long we may live, and we wish to have some lands for our children to hunt upon. You are gradually taking away our hunting grounds. Your children are driving us before them. We are growing uneasy. What lands you have, you may retain for ever; but we shall sell no more. You think, perhaps, that I speak in passion; but my heart is good towards you. I speak like one of your own children. I am an Indian, a red skin, and live by hunting and fishing, but my country is already too small; and I do not know how to bring up my children, if I give it all away. We sold you a fine tract of land at St. Mary's. We said to you ~~then~~ it was enough to satisfy your children, and the last we should sell; and we thought it would be the last you would ask for. We have now told you what we had to say. It is what was determined on in a council among ourselves; and what I have spoken is the voice of my nation. On this account, all our people have come here to listen to me; but do not think we have a bad opinion of you. Where should we get a bad opinion of you? We speak to you with a good heart, and the feelings of a friend. You are acquainted with this piece of land—the country we live in. Shall we give it up? Take notice it is a small piece of land, and if we give it away, what will become of us?

“The Great Spirit, who has provided it for our use, allows us to keep it, to bring up our young men and support our families. We should incur his anger, if we bartered it away. If we had more land, you should get more; but our land has

been wasting away ever since the white people became our neighbours, and we have now hardly enough left to cover the bones of our tribes; you are in the midst of your red children. What is due to us in money we wish, and I will receive at this place; and we want nothing more. We shall shake hands with you. Behold our warriors, our women, and children; take pity on us and on our words."

SPEECH OF KEEWTAGOUSHKUM.

A historical speech of Keewatgoushkum, chief of the Ottawa nation at the time of the Chicago treaty.

"My father, listen to me! The first white people seen by us were the French, When they first ventured into these lakes, they hailed us as children; they came with presents and promises of peace, and we took them by the hand. We gave them what they wanted, and initiated them into our mode of life, which they readily fell into. After some time, during which we had become well acquainted, we embraced their father (the king of France) as our father. Shortly after, the people that wear red coats (the English) came to this country, and overthrew the French, and they extended their hand to us in friendship. As soon as the French were overthrown, the British told us, 'we will clothe you in the same manner the French did. We will supply you with all you want, and will purchase all your peltries, as they did?' Sure enough! After the British took possession of the country, it was reported that another people, who wore white clothes, had arisen and driven the British out of the land. These people we first met at Greenville (in 1795 to treat with General Wayne) and took them by the hand. When the Indians first met the American chief (Wayne) in council, there were but few Ottawas present; but he said to them, 'when I sit myself down at Detroit, you will all see me.' Shortly after, he arrived at Detroit. Proclamations

were then made for all the Indians to come in. We were told (by the general,) 'the reason why I do not push those British farther, is that we may not forget their example in giving you presents of cloth, arms, ammunition, and whatever else you may require.' Sure enough! The first time, we were clothed with great liberality. You gave us strouds, guns, ammunition, and many other things we stood in need of, and said, 'this is the way you may always expect to be used.' It was also said, that whenever we were in great necessity, you would help us. When the Indians on the Maumee were first about to sell their lands, we heard it with both ears, but we never received a dollar. The Chippewas, the Pottowattomies, and the Ottawas, were originally but one nation. We separated from each other near Michilmackinac. We were related by the ties of blood, language, and interest; but in the course of a long time these things have been forgotten, and both nations have sold their lands, without consulting us. Our brothers, the Chippewas, have also sold you a tract of land at Saganan. People are constantly passing through the country, but we received neither invitation nor money. It is surprising that the Pottowattomies, Ottawas, and Chippewas, who are all one nation, should sell their lands without giving each other notice. Have we then degenerated so much that we can no longer trust one another? Perhaps the Pottowattomies may think I have come here on a begging journey, that I wish to claim a share of lands to which my people are not entitled. I tell them it is not so. We have never begged, and shall not now commence. When I went to Detroit last fall, Governor Cass told me to come to this place, at this time, and listen to what he had to say in council. As we live a great way in the woods, and never see white people except in the fall, when the traders come among us, we have not so many opportunities to profit by this intercourse as our neighbours, and to get what necessities we require; but we make out to live independently, and trade upon our own lands. We have, heretofore, received nothing less than justice from the Americans, and all we expect, in the present treaty, is a full proportion of the money and goods."

SPEECH OF BLACK HAWK WHEN HE SURRENDERED HIMSELF TO THE AGENT AT PRAIRE DU CHIEN.

"You have taken me prisoner with all my warriors. I am much grieved, for I expected, if I did not defeat you, to hold out much longer, and give you more trouble before I surrendered. I tried hard to bring you into ambush; but your last general understands Indian fighting. I determined to rush on you, and fight you face to face, I fought hard. But your guns were well aimed. The bullets flew like birds in the air, and whizzed by our ears like the wind through the trees in winter. My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose dim on us in the morning, and at night it sank in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. That was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. His heart is dead, and no longer beats quick in his bosom. He is now a prisoner to the white men; they will do with him as they wish. But he can stand torture, and is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian.

"He has done nothing for which an Indian ought to be ashamed. He has fought for his countrymen, the squaws and papooses, against white men, who came, year after year to cheat them and take away their lands. You know the cause of our making war. It is known to all white men. They ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians, and drive them from their homes. But the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak bad of the Indian, and look at him spitefully. But the Indian does not tell lies; Indians do not steal.

"An Indian, who is as bad as the white men could not live in our nation; he would be put to death, and eat up by the wolves. The white men are bad schoolmasters; they carry false looks, and deal in false actions; they smile in the face of the poor Indian to cheat him; they shake them by the hand to gain their confidence, to make them drunk, to deceive them, and ruin our wives. We told them to let us

alone, and keep away from us; but they followed on, and beset our paths, and they coiled themselves among us, like the snake. They poisoned us by their touch. We are not safe. We lived in danger. We were becoming like them, hypocrites and liars, adulterers and lazy drones, all talkers, and no workers. We looked up to the *Great Spirit*. We went to our father. We were encouraged. His great council gave us fair words and big promises, but we got no satisfaction, things were growing worse. There were no deer in the forest. The opossum and beaver were fled; the springs were drying up, and our *squaws* and *papooses* without victuals to keep them from starving; we called a great council, and built a large fire. The spirit of our fathers arose and spoke to us to avenge our wrongs or die. We all spoke before the council fire. It was warm and pleasant. We set up the war whoop, and dug up the tomakawk; our knives were ready, and the heart of *Black Hawk* swelled high in his bosom, when he led his warriors to battle. He is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. He has done his duty. His father will meet him, there, and commend him.

"*Black Hawk* is a true Indian, and disdains to cry like a woman. He feels for his wife, his children, and friends. But he does not care for himself. He cares for the nation and the Indians. They will suffer. He laments their fate. The white men do not *scalp* the head; but they do worse—they poison the heart; it is not pure with them. His countryman will not be *scalped*, but they will, in a few years, become like the white men, so that you can't trust them, and there must be, as in the white settlements nearly as many officers as men, to take care of them and keep them in order.

"Farewell, my nation! *Black Hawk* tried to save you, and avenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. He has been taken prisoner, and his plans are stopped. He can do no more. He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to *Black Hawk*."

SPEECH OF THE ONONDAGAS AND CAYUGAS TO THE
TWO GOVERNORS OF VIRGINIA AND NEW YORK.

" Brother Corlear—Your Sachem (meaning the king) is a great Sachem, and we are but a small people : when the English came in first to Manhattan (New York) Aragiske (Virginia) and to Yakokranogary, (Maryland) they were then but a small people, and we were great then ; because we found you a good people, we treated you kindly and gave you land ; we hope therefore now that you are great and we small, you will protect us from the French. If you do not we shall lose all our hunting and beavers, the French will get all our beavers. The reason they are now angry with us, is because we carry our beaver to our brethren. We have put our lands and ourselves under the protection of the great Duke of York, the brother of your great Sachem who is likewise a great Sachem. We have annexed the Susquehanna River, which was won by the sword, to their government ; and we desire it may be a branch of the great tree that grows in this place ; the top of which reaches the sun, and its branches shelter us from the French and all other nations. Our fire burns in your houses, and your fire burns with us ; we desire it may be so always. But we will not that any of the great Penn's people settle upon the Susquehanna River, for we have no other land for our children ; our young men are soldiers, and when they are provoked they are like wolves in the woods, as you Sachem of Virginia, very well know. We have put ourselves under the great Sachem Charles, that lives on the other side of the great lake (the Atlantic Ocean ;) we give these two white dressed deer skins to send to the great Sachem, that he may write on them, and put a great red seal to them, to confirm what we now do, and put the Susquehanna River and all the rest of our land under the great Duke of York, and give that land to none else. Our brethren, his people, have been like fathers to our wives and children, and have given us bread when we were in need of it ; we will not therefore join or

selves or our and to any other government but this. We desire Corlear,* our governor, may send this our proposition to the great Sachem Charles who dwells on the other side of the great lake, with this belt of wampum, and this other small belt, to the Duke of York his brother, and we give you Corlear this beaver that you may send over the proposition.

"You great man of Virginia, we let you know that the great Penn did speak to us here, in Corlear's house, by his agents, and desired to buy the Susquehanna River of us; but we would not hearken to him, for we had fastened it to this government.

"We desire you therefore to bear witness of what we do now, and that we now confirm what we have done before; let your friend that lives on the other side of the great lake, know this, that we, being free people, though united to the English, and may give our land to the Sachem we like best; we give this beaver to remember what we say."

On the arrival of the Senecas they addressed Lord Howard in the following manner:

"We have heard and understood what mischief has been done in Virginia; we have it perfect as if it were on our finger's end. O Corlear! we thank you for having been our intercessor, so that the axe has not fallen on us; and you Assarigoa, Great Sachem of Virginia, we thank you for burying all evil in the pit. We are informed that the Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, and Cayugas, have buried them already. Now we that live remotest off, are come to do the same, and to include in the chain the Cahnawas your friends. We desire therefore that an axe on our part may be buried with one of Assarigoa's. O Corlear, O Corlear! we thank you for laying hold of one end of the axe; and we thank you, great Governor of Virginia, not only for throwing aside the axe, but more especially for you putting all evil from your heart. Now we have a new chain, a strong and a straight chain that can not be broken; the tree of peace is planted so firmly, that it cannot be removed; let us

* The name they gave the Governor of New York.

on both sides hold the chain fast. We understand what you said of the great Sachem that lives on the other side of the great water. You tell us that the Cahnawas will come hither to strengthen the chain; let them not make any excuse that they are old and feeble, or that their feet are sore. If the old Sachem cannot, let the young men come; we shall not fail to come hither, though we live farthest off, and then the new chain will be stronger and brighter. We understand that because of the mischief that has been done to the people and castles of Virginia and Maryland, we must not come to the heads of your rivers, nor near your plantations, but keep on the foot of the mountains, for there we lay down our arms as friends; we shall not be trusted for the future, but looked on as robbers.

"We agree, however, to the proposition, and shall wholly stay away from Virginia. And then we do no gratitude to Corlear, who has been at so great pains to persuade your great Governor of Virginia to forget what is past; you are wise in giving ear to Corlear's advice, for we shall now go a path which was never trod before. We have now done speaking to Corlear and the governor of Virginia, let the chain be for ever kept clear and bright by him, and we shall do the same.

"The other nations from the Mohawk's country to the Cayugas have delivered up the Susquehanna River, and all the country to Corlear's government: we confirm what they have done by giving this belt."

On another occasion the Senecas replied to Lord Howard at Albany, when messengers had arrived from the governor of Canada with complaints against them, as follows:

"We were sent for and are come, and have heard what you said to us, that Corlear has great complaint of us, both from Virginia and Canada; what they complain of from Canada may possibly be true, that some of our young men have taken some of their goods, but Youmendio, the governor of Canada, is the cause of it. He not only permits his people to carry ammunition, guns, powder, lead, and axes, to the *Ticbticebronoons*, our enemies, but sends them thither

on purpose ; these guns which he sends, knock our beaver-hunters on the head, and our enemies carry the beaver to Canada, that we would have brought our brethren. Our beaver-hunters are soldiers, and could bear this no longer. They met some French in their way to our enemies, and very near them, carrying ammunition, which our men took from them. This is agreeable to our custom in wars ; and we may therefore openly own it, though we know not whether it be practised by the Christians in such like cases.

"When the governor of Canada speaks to us of the chain, he calls us children, and saith, I am your father, you must hold fast the chain, and I will do the same, I will protect you as a father doth his children. Is this protection, to speak thus with his lips, and at the same time to knock us on the head, by assisting our enemies with ammunition ? He always says I am your father, and you are my children ; and yet he is angry with his children, for taking these goods. But O Corlear ! O Assarigoa, we must complain to you ; you Corlear are a lord, and govern this country ; is it just that our father is going to fight with us for these things, or is it well done ? We rejoice when *La Sal* was sent over the great water ; and when Perot was removed, because they had furnished our enemies with ammunition ; but we are disappointed in our hopes, for we find our enemies are still supplied. Is this well done ? Yea he often forbids us to make war on any of the nations with whom he trades ; and at the same time furnishes them with all sorts of ammunition, to enable them to destroy us.

"Thus far, in answer to the complaint, the governor of Canada has made of us to Corlear.

"Corlear said to us, that satisfaction must be made to the French, for the mischief we have done them.

"This he said before he had heard our answer. Now let him that has inspection over all our countries, on whom our eyes are fixed, let him, even Corlear, judge and determine. If you say that it must be paid, we shall pay it but we cannot live without free beaver hunting. Corlear, hear what we say ; we thank you for the duke's arms, which you have

given us to put in our castles, as a defence to them. You command them. Have you wandered out of the way, as the governor of Canada says? We do not threaten him with war, as he threatens us. What shall we do? Shall we run away, or shall we sit still in our houses? What shall we do? We speak to him that governs and commands us

“Now Corlear and Assarigoa, and all good people here present, remember what we have announced to the complaints of the Governor of Canada; yea, we wish that what we here said, may come to his ears.”

CANASSATIEGO'S SPEECH.

At a council held in Philadelphia, July, 1742, attended by sundry chiefs from the Six Nations, the Delawares and Folk Indians he thus spoke:

“Brethren, the Governor and Council,—the other day you informed us of the misbehaviour of our cousins, the Delawares, with respect to their continuing to claim and refusing to remove from some land on the river Delaware, notwithstanding their ancestors had sold it by deed, under their hands and seals to the proprietors for a valuable consideration upwards of fifty years ago, and that notwithstanding that they themselves had also not many years ago, after a long and full examination ratified that deed of their ancestors, and gave a fresh one under their hands and seals; and then you requested us to remove them, enforcing your request with a string of wampum. Afterwards we laid on the table our own letters of Conrad Weiser, some of our cousins' letters, and the several writings to prove the charge against our cousins, with a draft of the land in dispute. We now tell you we have perused all these several papers. We see with our own eyes that they have been a very unruly people, and are altogether in the wrong in their dealings with you.

“We have concluded to remove them, and oblige them to

go over the river Delaware, and quit all claim to any lands on this side for the future, since they have received pay for them, and it is gone through their guts long ago. To confirm to you that we will see your request executed, we lay down this string of wampum in return for yours."

Then turning to the Delawares, holding a belt of wampum in his hand, he spoke to them as follows :

" *Cousins*,—Let the belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely, till you recover your senses and become sober. You don't know what ground you stand on, nor what you are doing. Our brother Onas's* cause is very just and plain, and his intentions are to preserve friendship ; on the other hand, your cause is bad, your heart far from being upright ; and you are maliciously bent to break the chain of friendship with our brother Onas and his people. We have seen with our eyes a deed signed by nine of our ancestors about fifty years ago, for this very land, and a release signed not many years since by some of yourselves and chiefs now living, to the number of fifteen or upwards. But how come you to take upon you, to sell land at all ? We conquered you, we made women of you ; you know you are women, and can no more sell land than women ; nor is it fit you should have the power of selling land, since you would abuse it. This land that you claim has gone through your guts. You have been furnished with clothes, meat, and drink, by the goods paid for it, and now you want it again like children as you are. But what matters ? You sell land in the dark. Did you ever tell us that you had sold them land ? Did we ever receive any part, even the value of a pipe shank from you for it ? You have told us a blind story, that you sent a messenger to us, to inform us of the sale ; but he never came among us, nor we never heard any thing about it : this is acting in the dark, and very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in the sale of lands ;

* Name of the Governor of Pennsylvania.

on such occasions they give public notice, and invite all the Indians of the united nations, and give them all a share of the presents they receive for their lands. This is the behaviour of the wise nations. But we find you are none of our blood; you act a distant part, not only in this but in other matters; your ears are even open to slanderous reports about our brethren; you receive them with as much greediness as lewd women receive the embraces of bad men; and for all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you the liberty to think about it. You are women, take the advice of a wise man, and remove immediately. You may remove to the other side of the Delaware, where you came from; but we do not know whether, considering how you have demeaned yourselves, you will be permitted to live there, or whether you have not swallowed that land down your throats, as well as the land on this side. We therefore assign you two places, to go either to Uzoman or Shamokin; you may go to either of these places, and then we shall have you more under our eye, and shall see how you behave; don't deliberate, but remove away and take the belt of wampum. After our just reproof, and absolute order to depart from the land, you are now to take notice of what we have further to say to you.

"This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children, and grandchildren to the latest posterity, for ever, meddling in land affairs; neither you, nor any who shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to presume to sell any land; for which purpose you are to preserve this string, in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brothers; and therefore depart the council, and consider what has been said to you."

Canassatego then spoke to the Council:

"Brethren,—We called at our old friend James Logan, in our way to the city, and to our grief we found him hid in the bushes, and retired through infirmities from public business; we pressed him to leave his retirement, and prevailed with him to assist once more on our account at your coun-

cils. We hope, notwithstanding his age and the effect of a fit of sickness, which we understand has hurt his constitution, that he may yet continue a long time to assist the provinces with his counsels. He is a wise man and a fast friend to the Indians; and we desire when his soul goes to God, you may choose in his room just such another person, of the same prudence and ability in counselling, and of the same tender disposition and affection for the Indians. In testimony of our gratitude for all his services, and because he was so good as to leave his country-house, and follow us to town, and be at the trouble in this his advanced age to attend the council, we present him with this bundle of skins.

Brethren,—It is always our way at the conclusion of a treaty to desire you will use your endeavours with the traders, that they may sell their goods cheaper, and give us better price for our deer skins. Whenever any particular sort of Indian goods is scarce, they constantly make us pay the dearer on that account. We must now use the same argument with them. Our deer are killed in such quantities, and our hunting countries growing less every day, by the settlement of white people, that game is now difficult to find, and we must go a great way in quest of it; they therefore ought to give us a better price for our skins, and we desire you would speak to them to do so. We have been stinted in the article of rum in town, we desire you will open the rum bottle, and give to us in greater abundance on the road; to enforce this request, we present you a bundle of skins.

Brethren,—When we first came to your houses, we found them clean and in order, but we have staid so long as to dirty them, which is to be imputed to our different way of living from the white people; and therefore, as we cannot but have been disagreeable to you on this account, we present you with some skins to make your houses clean, and put them in the same condition they were in when we came among you.

Brethren,—The business of the Five Nations is of great consequence, and requires a skilful, honest person to go between us; one in whom both you and me can place confi-



AN INDIAN ORATOR

dence. We esteem our present interpreter to be such a person, equally faithful in the interpretation of whatever is said to him by either of us, equally allied to both; he is of our nation, and a member of our council, as well as of yours.

When we adopted him, we divided him in two equal parts; one we kept for ourselves, and one we left for you. He had a great deal of trouble with us, wore out his shoes in our messages, and dirtied his clothes by being among us; so that he has become as nasty as an Indian. In return for these services we recommend him to your generosity; and on our own behalf we give him five skins to buy him clothes and shoes.

Brethren,—We have still one favour to ask; one treaty and all we have to say about public business is now over, and to-morrow we design to leave you. We hope, as you have given us plenty of good provisions whilst in the town, that you will continue your goodness so far as to supply us on the road. And we likewise desire you will provide us with wagons to carry our goods to the place where they are to be conveyed by water

GACHRADODOW'S SPEECH.

At a council, held at Lancaster, June 30th, 1744, when the Governor observed that certain lands belonged to the great King.

Gachradodow, of the Six Nations, thus spoke—Great Assaragoa*—The world at the first was made on the other side of the great water, different from what it is on this side, as may be known from the different colours of our skins and of our flesh; and that which you call justice may not be so among us; you have your laws and outlaws, and so have we. The great King might send you over to conquer the Indians;

* Such was the name of the Governor of Virginia.

but it looks to us that God did not approve it; if he had, he would not have placed the sea where it is, as the limits between us and you.

Brother Assaragoa,—Though great things are well remembered among us, yet we don't remember that we were ever conquered by the great King, or that we have been employed by that great King to conquer others; if it was so, it is beyond our memory. We do remember we were employed by Maryland to conquer the Conestogoes, and that the second time we were at war with them, we carried them all off.

Brother Assaragoa,—You charge us with not acting agreeably to our peace with the Catawbas. We will repeat to you truly what was done; the Governor of New-York at Albany, in behalf of Assaragoa, gave us several belts of wampum from the Cherokees and Catawbas, and we agreed to a peace, if those nations would send some of their great men to us to confirm it face to face, and that they would trade with us; and desired that they would appoint a time to meet at Albany for that purpose, but they never came.

Brother Assaragoa,—We then desired a letter might be sent to the Catawbas and Cherokees, to desire them to come down and confirm the peace. It was long before an answer came, but we met the Cherokees and confirmed the peace, and sent some of our people to take care of them until they returned to their own country. The Catawbas refused to come, and sent us word that we were but women, and that they were men, and double men; and that they would make women of us, and would be always at war with us; they are a deceitful people; and brother Assaragoa is deceived by them; we don't blame him for it, but are sorry he is so deceived.

Brother Assaragoa,—We have confirmed the peace with the Cherokees, but not with the Catawbas; they have been treacherous and know it, so that the war must continue till one of us is destroyed; thus we think proper to tell you, that you may not be troubled at what we do to the Catawbas.

Brother Assaragoa,—We will now speak to the point be-

tween us. It is always a custom among brethren and strangers to use each other kindly; you have some very ill natured people living there; so we desire the persons in power may know that we are to have reasonable victuals when we want.

You know very well when the white people came first here, they were poor; but now they have got lands and are by them become rich, and we are now poor; what little we have had for the land goes soon away, but the land lasts for ever. You told us you had brought with you a chest of goods, and that you have the key in your pockets; but we have never seen the chest, nor the goods that are in it; it may be small and the goods may be few; we want to see them and are desirous to come to some conclusion. We have been sleeping here these two days past, and have not done any thing to the purpose.

THE CHARACTER OF THE FIVE INDIAN NATIONS OF CANADA, BY LORD CADWALLADER COLDEN.*

"The Five Nations are a poor and generally called a barbarous people, bred under the darkest ignorance; and yet a bright and noble genius shines through these clouds. None of the greatest Roman heroes have discovered a greater love of country or contempt of death, than these people called barbarians have done, when liberty came in competition. Indeed I think our Indians have outdone the Romans in this particular. Some of the greatest of those Roman heroes have murdered themselves to avoid shame or torments; but our Indians have refused to die meanly, or with but little pain when they thought their country's honour would be at stake by it; but have given their bodies willingly to the most cruel torments of their enemies, to show, as they said, that the Five Nations consisted of men, whose courage and

* One of his Majesty's consuls, Surveyor General of New-York.

resolution could not slacken. But what, alas! have we Christians done to make them better, we have indeed reason to be ashamed that these infidels by our conversation and neighbourhood, are become worse than they were before they knew us. Instead of Virtue we have only taught them Vice, that they were entirely free from before that time. The narrow vices of private interest, have occasioned this and will occasion greater, even public mischief, if the governors of the people do not put a stop to these growing evils, If these practices be winked at, instead of faithful friends that have manfully fought our battles for us, the Five Nations will become faithless thieves and robbers, and join with every enemy that can give hope of plunder.

"If care were taken to plant and cultivate in them that general benevolence to mankind, which is the true first principles of virtue, it would effectually eradicate those horrid vices occasioned by their unbounded revenge; and then they no longer would deserve the name of barbarians, but would become people whose friendship might add honour to the British nation.

"The Greeks and Romans were once as much barbarians as our Indians are now, and deified the heroes that first taught them those virtues, from whence the grandeur of those renowned nations wholly proceeded. A good man however, will feel more real satisfaction and pleasure from the sense of having in any way forwarded the civilizing of a barbarous nation, or having multiplied the number of good men, than from the fondest hopes of such extravagant honours.

"The Five Nations consist of so many tribes or nations joined together, without any superiority of one over the other. The union has continued so long that nothing is known to Europeans of the origin of it. They are known by the names of Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Sennekas. Each of these nations is again divided into three tribes or families, who distinguish themselves by three different names or ensigns; the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf; and the Sachems, or old men of these families put

their ensign or marks of their family to every public paper, when they sign it.

"Each of these nations is a republic of itself, and is governed in all public affairs by its own Sachems, the authority of these rulers is gained by and consists wholly in the opinion the rest of the nation have of their wisdom and integrity. They never execute their resolutions by force upon any of their people. Honour and esteem are their principal rewards; as shame and being despised their punishments. These leaders and captains in like manner obtain their authority by the general opinion of their courage and conduct; and lose it by a failure in those virtues. These great men, both Sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people, for they uniformly give away and distribute all the presents or plunder they get in their treaties or in war, so as to leave nothing to themselves.

"There is not a man in the ministry of the Five Nations, who has gained his office otherwise than by merit; there is not the least salary or any sort of profit annexed to any office to tempt the covetous or sordid; but on the contrary, every unworthy action is unavoidably attended with the forfeiture of their commission, for the authority is only the esteem of the people, and ceases the moment that esteem is lost.

"The Five Nations think themselves superior to mankind, and call themselves Ongue—honwe, that is, men surpassing all others. All the nations round them have for many years entirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly tribute to them of wampum."*

* Wampum is the current money among the Indians; it is of two sorts, white and purple: the white is worked out of the insides of the great Congues into the form of a bead, and perforated, so as to be strung on leather; the purple is worked out of the inside of the muscle shell. They are wove as broad as one's hand, and about two feet long: these they call belts, and give and receive them at their treaties, as the seals of friendship. For lesser motives a single string is given; every head is of a known value; and a belt of a less number is made to equal one of a greater, by so many as are wanted being fastened to the belt by a string.

The following continuation of their character is by James Buchanan, Esq., of New-York :

" They dare neither make war nor peace without the consent of the Mohawks. Two old men of this tribe commonly go about every year or two, to receive this tribute ; and I have had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under while these two old men remained in that part of the country where I was. An old Mohawk Sachem, in a poor blanket and dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary authority as a Roman dictator. It is not, however for the sake of tribute they make war, but from notions of glory, which they have ever most strongly imprinted on their minds ; and the further they go to seek an enemy, the greater glory is gained. The Five Nations in their love of liberty and of their country, in their bravery in battle, and their constancy in enduring labour and torments, equal the fortitude of the most renowned Romans.

" I shall finish their character by what their enemy Monsieur De la Potherie in his history of North America, says of them ; ' when we speak in France of the Five Nations, they are thought, by a common mistake, to be mere barbarians, always thirsting after human blood ; but their true character is very different. They are indeed the fiercest and most formidable people in North America, and at the same time are a polite and judicious as can well be conceived ; and this appears from the management of all the affairs which they transact, not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all the Indian nations of this vast continent.'

" They strictly form a Roman maxim, to increase their strength by encouraging other nations to incorporate with them, and adopt many captives taken in battle, who afterwards have become Sachems and Captains. The cruelty the Indians use in war, is deservedly held in abhorrence ; but who ever has read the history of the far famed heroes of Greece and Rome, will find them little, if at all better, even

in this respect. Does the behaviour of Achilles to Hector's dead body appear less savage! But Achilles had a Homer to blazon forth his virtues; not so with the unlettered Indian; every pen is dipped in gall against him. Witness the Carthaginians, and Phœnicians offering their children in sacrifice, and in latter days behold men professing Christianity, outstripping all true or fabled cruelty, blasphemously or impiously, under the idea of honouring God.

"Previous to setting out on any warlike expedition, they have a feast, to which all the noted warriors of the nation are invited; when they have the war dance to the beat of kettle drums. The warriors are seated on two rows; each rises in turn, and sings the deeds he has performed; so that they work up their spirits to a high degree of enthusiasm. They come to these dances with faces painted in a frightful manner to make themselves look terrible to their enemies. By these war songs they preserve the history of their great achievements.* The solemn reception of these warriors, and the acclamations of applause which they receive at their return, cannot but have on their hearer the same effect in raising an emulation for glory, that a triumph had on the old Romans. After their prisoners are secured, they never offer them the least bad treatment, but on the contrary will rather starve themselves than suffer them to want; and I have been always assured that there is not one instance of their offering the least violence to the chastity of any woman that was their captive. The captives are generally distributed among those who have lost a member of their family in battle. If they are accepted, they enjoy all the privileges the person had; but if otherwise, they die in torment to satiate the revenge of those who refuse them.

"They use neither drum nor trumpet, nor any kind of musical instruments in their wars; their throats serve them on

* It is worthy of remark, that all nations have used the same means to record and bear in mind their history.

all occasions. We find the same was practised by Homer's heroes:

Twice to its path, his lefty voice he rears,
O friend! Thyself shouldst invade my ears.

The hospitality of these Indians is no less remarkable than their other virtues. As soon as any stranger comes among them, they are sure to offer him victuals; if a number arrive, one of their best houses is cleared for their accommodation, and not unfrequently they are accommodated with female society while they remain; but this latter mark of simple hospitality is not now to be found among any of the Indian tribes who have had much intercourse with the whites. The two following traits of character in the Mohawks, M. Colden states as having come under his own knowledge; he states that when last in their country, the Sachems told him they had an Englishman who had run from his master in New-York: that they never would deliver him up to be punished, but that they would pay the value to the master. Another man made his escape from Albany Jail, where he was in prison for debt; the Mohawks received him, and, as they protected him against the sheriff, they not only paid the debt for him, but gave him land over and above sufficient for a good farm whereon he lived when M. Colden was last there.

"Polygamy is not usual among them, and in case of separation according to the natural course of all animals, the children follow the mother. The women bring forth their children with much ease, and without any help; and soon after delivery return to their usual employment. They alone perform all the drudgery about the house, plant the corn, labour at it, cut the firewood, carry it home and on their marches bear the burdens. The men, disdaining all kind of labour, employ themselves alone in hunting; at times when it is not proper to hunt, the old men are found in companies in conversation, the young men at their exercises, shooting at marks, throwing the hatchet, wrestling

or running : and the women all busy at labour in the fields. The ancient state of Lacedomon resembles that of the Five Nations, their laws and customs being formed to render the mind and bodies of the people fit for war. Theft is very scandalous and rare. There is one vice which they have acquired since they became acquainted with the Europeans, of which they knew nothing before, drunkenness, all, males and females, are awfully given to this vice ; they have not been taught to abhor it ; on the contrary, the traders encourage it for the profit they gain on the *Suque*, and the bargains they obtain while intoxicated ; and this imported vice, from men professing Christianity, has destroyed greater numbers than all their wars and diseases put together.

“As to what religion they have it is difficult to judge of them, because the Indians that speak English and live near us, have learned many things of us, and it is not easy to distinguish the notions they had originally among them, from those they have learned of the Christians. It is certain they have no kind of public worship, and I am told they have no radical word signifying God ; that is, one simple expression for the Deity, but use a compound word that signifies preserver, sustainer, or master of the universe. Their funeral rites seem to infer an idea of a future existence. They make a large hole in which the body can be placed upright, or upon its haunches ; they dress the corpse in all their finery, and put wampum and other things into the grave with it and the relations suffer not grass or any weeds to grow on the grave or near it, and frequently visit it with lamentations.”

AMERICA PEOPLED BY A MORE CIVILIZED RACE THAN
THE PRESENT RED INDIANS.

At what period the continent of America was originally peopled, is a question which has not as yet been satisfactorily proved ; in fact all the sources of information which

have been hitherto exhibited to the philosophic mind, will not be sufficient to form any probable conjecture on this head. If the geological constitution of America be attentively examined, the opinion that it is a continent more recently formed than the rest of the globe, will not stand.

"The same succession of stony *strata*," says a learned author, "is found no less in the new world than in the old world. At a height superior to Mount Blanc petrified sea shells are found on the summit of the Andes. The fossil bones of elephants, are spread over the equinoctial regions of a continent where living elephants do not exist; and these bones are not found merely in low plains, but in the coldest and most elevated regions of the Cordilleras. There, as well as in the old world, generations of animals long extinct, have preceded those which now exist on the surface of the earth. There is no reason to believe, because America has been but recently discovered, that therefore, it has been but recently peopled. The comparative thinness of its population is no proof to the contrary, for the regions of Central Asia are as thinly peopled as the Savannahs of New Mexico and Paraguay. The fact is, that the problem of the first population of most countries, is nearly as difficult to solve as that of America. The reason is plain, because the first population of a country is generally far beyond the period of its history. The problem, therefore, of the population of the new world, is no more within the province of history, than questions on the origin of plants and animals are in that of natural science."

It has been frequently proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the remains of a more polished and cultivated people than the present Red Indians of North America do still exist in different parts of the western continent. In the absence of these remains the vestiges of civilization which are every year discovered between Lake Ontario and Gulf of Mexico, and even towards the north-west should sufficiently prove the fact. Mr. Barton, in his *Observations on some Parts of Natural History*, part I., has collected the

scattered hints of Kalm, Carver, and others, and has added a plan of a regular work, which had been discovered on the banks of the Muskingum, near its junction with the Ohio. These remains are principally stone walls, large mounds of earth, and a combination of these mounds with the walls, suspected to have been fortifications. In some places the ditches and the fortresses are said to have been plainly seen; in others, furrows, as if the land had been ploughed. The mounds of earth are of two kinds; they are artificial tumuli, designed as repositories for the dead; or they are of a greater size for the purpose of defending the adjacent country; and with this view they are artificially constructed, or advantage is taken of the natural eminences, to raise them into a fortification.

The remains near the banks of the Muskingum, are situated about one mile above the junction of that river with the Ohio, and a hundred and sixty miles below Fort Pitt. They consist of a number of walls and other elevations of ditches, &c., altogether occupying a space of ground about three hundred and fifty to twenty-five or twenty feet broad. The town, as it has been called, is a large level, encompassed by walls, nearly in the form of a square, the sides of which are from ninety-six to eighty-six perches in length. These walls are, in general, about ten feet in height above the level on which they stand, and about twenty feet in diameter at the base, but at the top they are much narrower; they are at present overgrown with vegetables of different kinds, and among others, with trees of several feet in diameter. The chasms, or opening in the walls, were probably intended for gateways; they are three in number on each side, besides the smaller openings in the angles. Within the walls there are three elevations six feet in height, with regular ascents to them. These elevations considerably resemble some of the eminences already mentioned, which have been discovered near the river Mississippi. This author's opinion is, that the Tolticas, or some other Mexican nation, were the people to whom the mounds and fortifications, which

has described, owe their existence. This conjecture is thought probable, from the similarity of the Mexican fortifications described by the Abbe Clavigero, and other authors, to those described by our author; and from the tradition of the Mexicans that they came from the north west; for if we can rely on the testimony of late travellers, fortifications similar to those mentioned by Mr. Barton have been discovered as far to the north as Lake Pepin; and we find them as we approach to the south, even as low as the coasts of Florida.

To enumerate the antiquities of America and the different places where they are found, would only be a repetition of what has already appeared before the public; and these discoveries are evidently so much attended with the exaggeration of enthusiasts, that it would ill become any person, who was not an actual observer, to present to the public what, perhaps never existed. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that several vestiges of civilization have been found in different parts throughout the western continent, which will at once prove that a people more versed in the arts and sciences than the present North American Indians, inhabited the western continent at some remote period. The venerable Bishop of Meaux, who addressed a series of letters to the Queen of France during his travels in North America, mentions the remains of several well built forts in the country of Natchez, whom he supposes to be descendants of the Mexicans or the survivors of some nation which must have been somewhat acquainted with the arts, and might have been exterminated by war and, pestilence, or famine. "This fortification," he says, "which is large and square, might contain several hundred cabins. The walls which are built of stone, are seven or eight feet high. Round them runs a broad ditch, six feet deep, into which they could, in time of danger, draw the waters of a creek or small river that runs by the town, at the distance of thirty yards. Not far from thence I observed the remains of a tower, built with some taste and art; and on inquiring at the *great temple* of the Natchez, what it was intended

for I was told by the *priest*, that it was a repository for the dead, or the tomb of their chiefs."

Monsieur de la Sale, who first discovered the country of the Natchez, speaks of fortifications, temples, and cultivated fields, where he assured us the plough had been in use, from the fact that, on one occasion, when they were digging to make a well, they discovered the remains of a plough and the bone of an elephant along with it, which from the shape they gave it, could not have been intended for any other purpose than a ploughshare. ✓

Another learned author makes the following observations : "That North America was formerly inhabited by a nation more civilized and more versed in science, than the present, is certain from the late discoveries of M. Verandrier and his companions, who travelled westward from Montreal in order to reach the south sea. When they had traversed many nations, of which no European had any knowledge before, they met with large tracts every where covered with furrows, which had formerly been ploughed ; it is to be observed that the people who now inhabit North America, never make use of oxen, horses, or ploughs. In several places they met on the plains and in the woods great pillars of stone, which, to all appearance, had been erected by human hands, and with considerable taste. They found a stone, in which was fixed a smaller one, measuring twelve inches by five, on which was an inscription in unknown characters ; this they brought to Canada, from whence it was sent to France, to the Count de Maurepas, the Secretary of State."

Count Rosetti found a helmet among the Natchez, made of tortoise-shell, on which some Asiatic hieroglyphics were engraved. On his return to Italy they were explained by some missionaries who remained several years in China, and purported the *God of War* and the *Great Sun*, or the *Great Chief*. The helmet is still preserved in the count's collection of antiquities.

L'Abbe de la Ville discovered, during his mission in Ohio, a defensive armour of tortoise-shell, with inscriptions

in the Chinese language. These he sent to Paris, and are to be seen in the national museum, with the following observations: "I have often heard among the present Indians, that, before they arrived in this country from the north-west, they met the remains of a nation whose language they could not understand, and whose external appearance, manners, customs, and religion, were not the same with theirs. They represented them as a people who had a different origin, but who, they said, had entered this continent by *Kamschatka*, as they did themselves. This information I have not only acquired from those Indian tribes which I found in Ohio, but also from the Great Sun of the Natchez, who assured me that he was the descendant of those who were the original proprietors of the American soil, previous to the migration of the barbarous tribes by which he found himself then surrounded. At the same time he told me, that a part of his nation survived the almost utter extermination of his tribes by that barbarous horde, and that they still lived towards the south."

"Innumerable fortifications," says Mons. du Chateau, "are to be found throughout America; but all these vestiges of civilization, and their monuments or pillars and the *tumuli* of the dead are now so overgrown with trees, that it is with some difficulty, they can be discerned."

That several monuments of antiquity are very probably concealed from us by the overgrowth of the forest cannot at all be denied, when we exhibit to the view of the public, a certain fact which recently came to light in the township of Beverly, county of Halton, Upper Canada. A tumulus was discovered containing the remains of about a thousand Indians, with arms and cooking vessels. This golgotha was, when discovered, overgrown with trees of two hundred years growth. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that several marks of civilization have, under similar circumstances, escaped our notice.

M. Sinclair, who travelled in North America in the year 1748, has made the following observations respecting the civilization of the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent

"That architecture and painting," he says, "were known among the ancients of America cannot be denied, when we examine the art which they displayed in building fortifications and towers; and the taste which their paintings in *relievo* exhibit. It would be equally absurd to deny that iron tools were in use; for how could they break and shape into different forms large stones almost as hard as the flint which the present *Red Men* use as hatchets. But, without any conjecture, we may easily arrive at a conclusion by considering the fact, that the French missionaries found several iron tools and warlike weapons; and these tools, are said to resemble, in a striking manner, those of the Coreans, formerly a Chinese colony."

Count Rosetti says that they are not unlike those in use among the Chinese, according to the observations of the Jesuit, who lived for several years in China. How these tools and weapons have disappeared can easily be accounted for, by supposing that this Asiatic colony, which was undoubtedly more polished than the present Indians, buried along with the dead, as is well known to have been the custom, those tools and weapons which were dear to them when living. This ridiculous and superstitious custom would certainly contribute, through time, to the utter annihilation of those instruments, which, though evidently in use among them, were not made by them since they arrived in America, but brought along with them from whatever part of Asia they migrated, and consequently the supply could not be otherwise than scanty. The Mexicans, who are supposed, and on very good grounds, to be the descendants of this more civilized race of Indians, were acquainted with the arts when first visited by the Europeans; and this we shall endeavour to prove hereafter.

The following article appeared some time ago, in the *United Service Journal*, in reference to the Greek antiquities which have been recently discovered in South America: "A recent discovery seems to afford strong evidence that the soil of America was once trodden by one of Alexander's subjects. A few years since there was found, near Monte

Video, in South America, a stone with the following words in Greek upon it: 'During the reign of Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedon, in the 63rd Olympiad, Ptolemy'—the remainder of the inscription could not be deciphered. This stone covered an excavation, which contained two very ancient swords, a helmet, a shield, and several earthen amphorae of large capacity. On the handle of one of the swords was a portrait of a man, and on the helmet there was sculptured work representing Achilles dragging the corpse of Hector round the walls of Troy. This was a favourite picture among the Greeks. Probably this Ptolemy was overtaken by a storm in the great ocean, as the ancients termed the Atlantic, and driven on the coast of South America. The silence of Greek writers in relation to this event may easily be accounted for, by supposing that on attempting to return to Greece he was lost, together with his crew, and thus no account of his discovery ever reached them."

How these Greek antiquities came to America, we cannot at all conjecture; and it is equally dubious, whether such things have been discovered or not. It would, however, appear presumptuous on our part to contradict it, when we can prove nothing to the contrary.

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES.

(From Governor Clinton's Discourse.)

"It would be an unpardonable omission, not to mention, while treating on this subject, that there is every reason to believe, that previous to the occupancy of this country by the progenitors of the present nation of Indians, it was inhabited by a race of men much more populous, and much farther advanced in civilization. The numerous remains of ancient fortifications, which are found in this country, commencing principally near the Onondaga River, and from thence spreading over the military tract, the Genesee coun-

try, and the lands of the Holland Land Company, over the territory adjoining the Ohio and its tributary streams, the country on Lake Erie, and extending even west of the Mississippi, demonstrate a population far exceeding that of the Indians when this country was first settled.

"I have seen several of these works in the western parts of this state. There is a large one in the town of Onondaga; one in Pompey, and another in Manlius; one in Camillus, eight miles from Auburn; one in Scipio, six miles; another one mile, and one, half a mile from that village. Between the Seneca and Cayuga Lakes there are several; three within a few miles of each other. Near the village of Canadaigua there are three. In a word they are scattered all over that country.

"These forts were, generally speaking, erected on the most commanding ground. The walls or breastworks were earthen. The ditches were on the exterior of the works. On some of the parapets, oak trees were to be seen, which, from the number of the concentric circles, must have been standing one hundred and fifty, two hundred and sixty, and three hundred years; and there were evident indications, not only that they had sprung up since the erection of those works, but that they were at least a second growth. The trenches were in some cases deep and wide, and in others shallow and narrow; and the breastworks varied in altitude from three to eight feet. They sometimes had one, and sometimes two entrances, as was to be inferred from there being no ditch at those places. When the works were protected by a deep ravine, or a large stream of water, no ditch was to be seen. The areas of these forts varied from two to six acres; and the form was generally an irregular ellipsis; and in some of them fragments of earthenware and pulverized substances, supposed to have been originally human bones were to be found.

"These fortifications, thus diffused over the interior of our country, have been generally considered as surpassing the skill, patience, and industry of the Indian race; and various

hypotheses have been advanced to prove them of European origin.

"An American writer of no inconsiderable repute pronounced some years ago, that the two forts at the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio Rivers, one covering forty and the other twenty acres, were erected by Ferdinand de Soto, who landed with one thousand men in Florida in 1539, and penetrated a considerable distance into the interior of the country. He allotted the large fort for the use of the Spanish army; and after being extremely puzzled how to dispose of the small one in the vicinity, he at last assigned it to the swine, that generally, as he said, attended the Spaniards in those days; being in his opinion very necessary, in order to prevent them from becoming astray, and to protect them from the depredations of the Indians.

"When two ancient forts, one containing six and the other three acres, were found near Lexington in Kentucky, another theory was propounded, and it was supposed that they were erected by the descendants of a Welch Colony, who are said to have migrated under the auspices of Madoc to this country, in the twelfth century; that they formerly inhabited Kentucky; but being attacked by the Indians, were forced to take refuge near the sources of the Missouri.

"Another suggestion has been made, that the French in their expeditions from Canada to the Mississippi, were the authors of these works; but the most numerous are to be found in the territory of the Senecas, whose hostility to the French was such, that they were not allowed for a long time to have any footing among them.* The fort at Niagara was obtained from them by the intrigues and eloquence of Joncaire, an adopted child of the nation.†

"Louis Denmie, a Frenchman, aged upwards of seventy, and who has been settled and married among the confederates for more than half a century, told me that according to the traditions of the ancient Indians, these forts were erected by an army of Spaniards, who were the first Euro-

* Colden, vol. I, p. 61. † Charlevoix, vol. III. letter 15. p. 2. 27.

peans ever seen by them; the French the next; then the Dutch; and finally the English; that this army first appeared at Oswego in great force, and penetrated through the interior of the country, searching for the precious metals; that they continued there two years, and went down the Ohio.

"Some of the Senecas told Mr. Kirkland, the Missionary, that those in their territory were raised by their ancestors in their wars with the Western Indians, three, four, or five hundred years ago. All the Cantons have traditions, that their ancestors came originally from the west; and the Senecas say that theirs first settled in the country of the Creeks. The early histories mention that the Iroquois first inhabited on the north side of the lakes; that they were driven to their present territory in a war with the Algonquins or Adirondacks, from whence they expelled the Sata-nas. If these accounts are correct, the ancestors of the Senecas did not, in all probability, occupy their great territory, at the time they alledge

"I believe we may confidently pronounce, that all the hypotheses which attribute those works to Europeans, are incorrect and fanciful. 1st. Our account of the present number of the works. 2nd. Our account of their antiquity; having from every appearance, been erected a long time before the discovery of America; and finally their form and manner are totally variant from European fortifications, either in ancient or modern times.

"It is generally clear that they were not the work of the Indians. Until the Senecas, who are renowned for their national vanity, had seen the attention of the Americans attracted to these erections, and had invented the fabulous account of which I have spoken, the Indians of the present day did not pretend to know any thing about their origin. They were beyond the reach of all their traditions, and were lost in the abyss of unexplored antiquity.

"The erection of such prodigious works must have been the result of labour, far beyond the patience and perseverance of our Indians; and the forms and materials are entirely different from those which they are known to make. These

earthen walls, it is supposed, will retain their original form much longer than those constructed with brick and stone. They have undoubtedly been greatly diminished by the washing away of the earth, the filling up of the interior, and the accumulation of fresh soil: yet their firmness and solidity indicate them to be the work of some remote age. Add to this, that the Indians have never practised the mode of fortifying by entrenchments. Their villages or castles were protected by palisades; which afforded a sufficient defence against Indian weapons. When Cartier went to Hochelaga, now Montreal, in 1535 he discovered a town of the Iroquois, or Hurons, containing about fifty huts. It was encompassed with three lines of palisades, through which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders; and heaps of stones were laid in proper places to cast at an enemy. Charlevoix and other writers agree, in representing the Indian fortresses, as fabricated with wood. Such also were the forts of Saascus, the great chief of the Pequots; and the principal fortress of the Narragansetts was on an island in a swamp, of five or six acres of rising land; the sides were made with palisades set upright, encompassed with a hedge, of a rod in thickness.

"I have already alluded to the argument for the great antiquity of those ancient forts, to be derived from the number of concentric circles. On the ramparts of one of the Muskingum forts, four hundred and sixty-three were ascertained on a tree, decayed at the centre; and there are likewise the strongest marks of a former growth of a similar size. This would make those works near a thousand years old.

"But there is another consideration which has never before been urged, and which appears to me to be not unworthy of attention. It is certainly novel, and I believe it to be founded on a basis, which cannot easily be subverted.

"From near the Genesee River to Lexington, on the Niagara River, there is a remarkable ridge or elevation of land, running almost the whole distance, which is seventy-

eight miles, and in a direction from east to west. Its general altitude above the neighbouring land is thirty feet, and its width varies considerably ; in some places it is not more than forty yards. Its elevation above the level of the Lake Ontario is perhaps one hundred and sixty feet, to which it descends by a gradual slope, and its distance from that water is between six and ten miles. This remarkable strip of land, would appear as if intended by nature for the purpose of an easy communication. It is in fact a stupendous natural turnpike, descending gently on each side, and covered with gravel ; and but little labour is requisite to make it the best road in the United States. When the forests between it and the lakes are cleared, the prospects and scenery which will be afforded from a tour on this route to the Cataract of Niagara, will surpass all competition for sublimity and beauty, variety and number.

"There is every reason to believe, that this remarkable ridge was the ancient boundary of this great lake. The gravel with which it is covered, was deposited there by the waters ; and the stones every where indicate by their shape, the abrasion and agitation produced by that element. All along the borders of the western rivers and lakes, there are small mounds or heaps of gravel, of a conical form, erected by the fish for the protection of their spawn ; these fish banks are found in a state that cannot be mistaken, at the foot of the ridge, on the side toward the lake ; on the opposite side none have been discovered. All rivers and streams which enter the lake from the south, have their mouths affected with sand in a peculiar way, from the prevalence and power of the north-westerly winds. The points of the creeks which pass through this ridge, correspond exactly in appearance with the entrance of the streams into the lakes.

"These facts evince, beyond doubt, that Lake Ontario has, perhaps one or two thousand years ago, receded from this elevated ground. And the cause of this retreat must be ascribed to its having enlarged its former outlet, or to its

imprisoned waters (aided probably by an earthquake) for cing a passage down the present bed of the St. Lawrence; as the Hudson did at the Highlands, and the Mohawk at the Little Falls. On the south side of this great ridge, in its vicinity, and in all directions through this country, the remains of numerous forts are to be seen; but on the north side, that is, on the side toward the lake, not a single one has been discovered, although the whole ground has been carefully explored. Considering the distance to be, say, seventy miles in length, and eight in breadth, and that the boarder of the lake is the very place that would be selected for habitation and consequently for works of defence, on account of the facilities it would afford for subsistence, for safety, for all domestic accommodations and military purposes; and that on the south shores of Lake Erie, these ancient fortresses exist in great number, there can be no doubt but that these works were erected, when this ridge was the southern boundary of Lake Ontario, and, consequently, that their origin must be sought in a very remote age.

“A great part of North America was then inhabited by populous nations, who had made considerable advances in civilization. These numerous works could never have been supplied with provisions without the aid of agriculture. Nor could they have been constructed without the use of iron or copper; and without a perseverance, labour, and design which demonstrate considerable progress in the arts of civilized life. A learned writer has said, ‘I perceive no reason why the Asiatic North might not be an *Officina virorum* as well as the European. The overteeming country to the east of the Riphœan Mountains must find it necessary to discharge its inhabitants. The first great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more restless and more powerful than itself. Successive and new impulses continually arriving, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern track; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions. At length, reaching the farthest

limits of the old world, it found a new one, with ample space to occupy unmolested for ages.*

"After the north of Asia had thus exhausted its exuberant population by such a great migration, it would require a very long period of time to produce a co-operation of causes, sufficient to effect another. The first mighty stream of people that flowed into America, must have remained free from external pressure for ages. Availing themselves of this period of tranquility, they would devote themselves to the art of peace, make rapid progress in civilization, and acquire an immense population. In course of time, discord and war would rage among them, and compel the establishment of places of security. At last, they became alarmed by the irruption of a horde of barbarians, who rushed like an overwhelming flood from the north of Asia.

A multitude, like which the populous North
Poured from her frozen loins, to pass
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian Sands.†

"The great law of self-preservation compelled them to stand on their defence, to resist these ruthless invaders, and to construct numerous and extensive works for protection. And for a long series of time the scale of victory was suspended in doubt, and they firmly withstood the torrent; but like the Romans in the decline of their empire, they were finally worn down and destroyed, by successive inroads, and renewed attacks. And the fortifications of which we have treated, are the only remaining monuments of these ancient and exterminated nations. This is, perhaps, the airy nothing of imagination, and may be reckoned the extravagant dream of a visionary mind; but may we not, considering the wonderful events of the past and present times, and the inscrutable dispensations of an overruling Providence, may we not look forward into futurity, and without departing from

* Pennant's Arctic Zoology, vol. I, p. 260.

† Milton's Paradise Lost, book I, p. 62.

the rigid laws of probability, predict the occurrence of similar scenes, at some remote period of time. And perhaps in the decrepitude of our empire, some transcendent genius, whose powers of mind shall only be bounded by that impenetrable circle which prescribes the limits of human nature,* may rally the barbarous nations of Asia, under the standard of a mighty empire. Following the track of the Russian colonies and commerce towards the North-west coast, and availing himself of the navigation, arms, and military skill of civilized nations, he may, after subverting the neighbouring despotisms of the old world, bend his course toward European America. The destinies of our country may then be decided on the waters of the Missouri, or on the banks of Lake Superior. And if Asia shall then revenge on our posterity, the injuries we have inflicted on her sons, a new, a long, and a gloomy night of Gothic darkness will set in upon mankind. And when, after the efflux of ages, the returning effulgence of intellectual light shall again gladden the nations, then the wide-spread ruins of our cloud-capped towers, of our solemn temples, and of our magnificent cities, will, like the works of which we have treated, become the subject of curious research and elaborate investigation."

THE MEXICANS ARE THE REMAINS OF A MORE POLISHED NATION THAN THE PRESENT NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

It must be observed, however, that the history of nations and the progress of civilization does not, at this moment, offer a greater enigma worthy of solution than the origin of the Toltec, Chichimec, and Aztec tribes, which compose at present those properly denominated Mexicans. Their migrations are not hid in the obscurity of far distant ages, like

* Roscoe's Lorenzo De Medicis, p. 241

those of the Celts, the Hellenes, or the Pelasgi, but at a period comparatively modern, when all the movements on the continent of Asia are at least possible to be traced. If we may judge from the number of languages, the number of native tribes must be great. These languages exceed twenty, fourteen of which have grammars and dictionaries. The Mexican, or Aztec language, spoken by the Toltecs, Chichimecs, Acoluchecs, Nahuatlacs, and Aztecs, thus indicating an identity of origin. This language is the most widely diffused of all the Mexican languages; extending from 37 N. Lat. as far south as the lake of Nicaragua, a distance of more than 1200 miles. The other languages, indicating as many different tribes, are the Otomite, Tarasc, Zapotec, Mistece, Maye, or Yucatan, Totonac, Papolouc, Matlazing, Huaste, Mixed, Caquiquil, Taranmar, Tepehuan, and the Cors. The most part of these languages are, undoubtedly, different from each other; but the intermixture of one tribe with the other, their separation into new countries, and their formation into different nations, would, inevitably, produce, in the process of time, new and strange languages; so that if we can trace the origin of the most ancient and universal language, which is the Mexican or Aztec, we may fairly conclude that the Mexican is the common source of all the other dialects, and that the Mexicans must consequently be the progenitors of all the other tribes. Of the five tribes which constitute the present Mexican nation the Toltecs first made their appearance fifty miles to the east of the city of Mexico, in 648. They declared themselves expelled from a country lying to the north-west of the Rio Gila, and called by them Huehuetlapallan. The date of their emigration is fixed in the Mexican paintings, which describe year by year the events of this migration, which commenced in 544 of our era, or 104 years before their settlement in Mexico; and it is very remarkable that this epoch of 544, corresponds with the ruin of the dynasty of Tsin, in China, which caused such great commotions among the nations of eastern Asia. About one hundred years after the Toltecs had left Huehuetlapallan,

the Chichimecs took possession of it. These were a much more rude and unpolished tribe than the Toltecs, and came from an unknown country, called by them Amaque Mecan, far to the north of Huehuetlapallan, where they had resided for a long time. They took eighteen months in their migration to the ancient seat of the Toltecs. After remaining five centuries in Huehuetlapallan, they migrated to the south and appeared in Mexico in 1170, and mingled with the Toltecs. The Nabuatlacs made their first appearance from the north, in 1196 in Mexico. The Aztecs, the immediate progenitors of the Mexicans, dwelt in a country called Aztlan, to the north of the Californian Gulf in 1160. How far to the north of this parallel Aztlan lay, it is impossible to determine; but we are certain that it lay to the north of the Rio Colorado of California. It is probable that the original abode of the Aztecs, or Aztlan, lay beyond Nootka Sound, between it and Cook's River, especially under the 57th degree of N. Lat. in Norfolk Bay and new Cornwall, where the natives have a strong predilection for hieroglyphical painting, like the Mexicans. After a migration of 56 years, distinguished into three grand periods, the Aztecs arrived in the valley of Mexico in 1216. The first stage of their migration was to the south of the Rio Nabajoa, in 35 deg. N. Lat. and one of the branches of the Colorado. The second stage, was to the south of the Rio Gila, in N. Lat. 33 deg. 30 min., where the ruins of an ancient city, called Las Casas Grandes, by the Spaniards, was discovered in 1773, in the midst of a vast and beautiful plain, a league to the south of the Gila. These ruins occupy the space of three square miles. The whole surrounding plain is filled with fragments of Mexican stone-ware, beautifully painted in red, white, and blue. The third station was in the vicinity of Yanos, in the new Biscay, in N. Lat. 30 deg. 30 min., and 350 miles S. E. of Las Casas Grandes. They moved hence to Hueicolhuican, or Culeacan, where the Aztecs, originally composed of six tribes, were abandoned by five of them, namely, the Xochimilcas, Tepanecas, Chalcese, Tlascaltecs. The cause of this separation is not

known. The remaining tribe was rent into two violent factions, which persecuted each other, and they constructed no more edifices, as at Las Casas Grandes. They, however, still travelled together to the south, in order to enjoy the company and protection of their imaginary God. Wherever they stopt an altar was erected to him; and at their departure, they always left behind all their sick, under the charge of others to take care of them. They stopt at Tula, nine years, and eleven more in the surrounding parts. At last, in 1216, they arrived at Zumpanco, a considerable city in the vale of Mexico, where they were very kindly received by the lord of that district, who not only assigned them habitations, but became very much attached to them; and even demanded from them a wife for his son, which was granted; and from this marriage all the Mexican kings descended.

Restless, however, and dissatisfied with their condition, they still migrated from place to place, along the lake of Tezcuco. In 1245, they arrived at Chapoltepec, within two miles of the future site of Mexico. Harrassed by the petty kings of Zaltocan, or the Chichimec sovereigns, they retired to a small group of small islands, called Acocolco, at the southern extremity of the lake, where they lived for 52 years in great misery, being compelled to satisfy their wants with aquatic plants, insects, and an unknown species of reptile, called Axolotl. Reduced to slavery by the princes of Acoluacan or Tezcuco, they were again forced to abandon their abode in the midst of the lake, and take refuge on the continent, at Tzapan. The service which they did to their masters, in a war with the Xochimilcas, again procured them their liberty.

They established themselves first at Acatzinzintlau, which they called Mexicalzingo, from Mexitli, or Huitzilopochtli, their warlike divinity, corruptly called Vitzliputzli, and next to Iztacalco. Thence they removed to the little islands to the E. N. E. of Chapoltepec, in the western end of the lake, in obedience to the order of the oracle of Aztlan. An ancient tradition preserved amongst them said, that the

limit, or fatal term of their migration, was to be a place where they should find an eagle sitting on the top of a nopal shrub, the roots of which penetrated the crevices of a rock. This nopal was seen by the Aztecs, in the year 1325, 165 years after their first migration from Aztlan, and 109 years from their first appearance in the vale of Mexico, on a small island, which served for a foundation to the Teocalli, or Teopau, or the house of God, afterwards called by the Spaniards, the great temple of Mexitli. With the building of this rude temple commenced the foundation of the city of Mexico, signifying in the Aztec language, the habitation of the God of war; and with it commenced the dynasty of the Mexican kings, and with it ended the migration of the Aztec tribe.

Such is the information which eminent geographers and the most authentic Spanish writers give us, respecting the early history of the Mexicans. That they were found to be a superior race to the various tribes which inhabited this continent, when America was first visited by Europeans, cannot be denied, if a partial knowledge of the arts be a constituent part of refinement and civilization. It is the opinion of all those who have made inquiries after the origin and descent of the Mexicans, or about those vestiges of civilization which are found throughout the continent of America, that they are the descendants of an Asiatic colony from Corea, which was at the time of their migration into America, tributary to the Chinese empire. In corroboration of this theory, we have not only the opinion of learned men, the testimony of Chinese manuscripts but also a striking similarity of external appearance, manners, and customs, as we shall soon see.

The Mexicans are described as being generally of a good size, and well proportioned. They have narrow foreheads, black eyes, and regular white teeth, their hair is black, thick, coarse and glossy. They have little or no beard, and no hair upon their arms, thighs or legs. Their skins are a kind of olive, or copper colour. Few among them are deformed, and many of the females are beautiful

They dress their hair in various fashions, and use different kinds of paints, to make them amiable to their friends, and terrible to their foes. Many of the Mexican tribes cover themselves differently. Those of them who lived in cities when the Spaniards arrived in that country, seem all to have worn particular habits; but this has not been exactly described by the Spanish writers. The habits of the emperor, and his principal chiefs are represented as having been very superb; but it is probable, that fancy has sometimes added to the magnificence.

The Mexicans, as is well known to those Europeans who first visited them, had, undoubtedly, attained an astonishing degree of excellence in several arts. They were considerable proficient in painting and architecture. In painting they sometimes made use of pencils, at other times they used coloured feathers; disposing them into a kind of mosaic work, and displaying in this work an ingenuity and patience, which has never been surpassed by European artists. They cut and polished marble, jewels and precious stones. They constructed different kinds of armour; they wrought mines of gold, silver, wood, and stones; they cut from the quarry stones of prodigious size, and removed them to great distances, to be employed in their buildings; and all this without having the knowledge of any metal harder than iron or copper.

Their public edifices are described as having been of stone and well built. The royal palace opened by thirty gates, into as many streets. The principal front, it is said, was of jasper of different colours, and highly polished. The passage to the royal apartment was through three courts, of the same materials, and equally well finished as the principal court. The floors of those apartments were covered with mats, and they were hung, some of them with cotton cloths and some with hangings made of feathers, disposed into a variety of living figures. The roofs were so artificially constructed, that, although without nails, the planks supported each other.

Cotton manufactures were very common among them;

on cloth after it was woven, they painted various figures of men, trees, animals, &c. Instead of needles, they used bones; and the sinews of different animals, they used for thread. These manufactures were conducted chiefly by the women.

They knew something of poetry and music; and songs set to music, describing the achievements of their ancestors, formed a principal part of their amusements. Their writing was advanced no farther, than to represent transactions by paintings, and hieroglyphic representations. It was in this way that the Spanish invasion was announced to Montezuma.

They were skilled in agriculture, so as to raise considerable quantities of maize. They had some knowledge of gardening and botany; particularly with regard to medicinal plants, of which this country produces great quantities. The Mexican years consisted of 365 days. It was divided into 18 months, of 20 days each; and the five days, which according to this way of reckoning, belonging to no month, were yearly spent in the greatest festivity. This calendar shows, that they paid more attention to the course of the sun, than to that of the moon.

The principal food of the common people was maize ground into flour and formed into cakes. They made use of plantains, cassavi, and many kinds of roots; the flesh of the pecari, deer, and different kinds of venison.

When any considerable business was to be undertaken, they always commenced their consultations with a feast. They had feasts at weddings, and, in short, at every important transaction. At these feasts they had always a plentiful store of their intoxicating liquors. Their drinkings continued sometimes several days, and never ended but with the liquor. The women were not permitted to eat in presence of the men.

Their principal exercises were hunting and fishing, at which they were very expert. They were fond of dancing; this exercise was performed to the music of a reed, with several stops; accompanied by a kind of wooden drum.

Their dances were performed sometimes in a circle ; at other times, an individual exhibited his performances ; and then they consisted chiefly of displays of activity, strength and agility. The women likewise danced and sung, but always separate from the men.

The Mexicans, according to Acosta, were married in their temples by a priest. The ceremony consisted in his demanding of the parties, whether they were willing to accept of each other for husband and wife ? Upon their answering in the affirmative, he tied a corner of the woman's veil, to a corner of the man's mantle. In this manner he led them home to the bridegroom's house ; the bride went seven times round a fire, which, for that purpose, had been kindled on the floor ; the parties then sat down together by the fireside, and the marriage was looked upon as concluded. The consummation took place on the same night. If the husband was satisfied with his spouse, he gave an entertainment to her friends, made them presents and sacrificed to the gods. If he suspected her virginity, she was returned to her family, which was to them a considerable reproach.

It does not appear to be certain, whether polygamy was commonly practised or not. Their chiefs, we know, had many wives ; but we know that their customs were often different from those of the nation at large. Divorce was allowed by the Mexican law, when the parties could not agree. In this case the husband returned with his wife all the effects which she had received from her friends ; of which an account was always kept. Those who had been divorced, were forbidden to come together again under pain of death. This was also the punishment for adultery.

The Mexicans displayed an exemplary diligence in the education of their youth. It was an example of their political sagacity. Public schools were in all places erected in the neighbourhood of their temples, with proper teachers, who were considered as officers of state. These carefully studied the dispositions and parts of the boys committed to their charge, and fitted them for the army, the church, or the state, according as these parts or dispositions directed. They

were not permitted to indulge in long sleep. They were forced to live abstemiously and be inured to the most fatiguing exercises. If intended for the army, which they considered as the most honourable of all employments, they were obliged to give proofs of their courage and intrepidity, before they could be enrolled as soldiers. There were also seminaries for the education of females. These were under the direction of respectable matrons, who instructed their pupils in the principles of religion and morality, together with those less dignified domestic accomplishments, which are too frequently neglected in a female education, but which are no less useful in a married state. Both sexes were instructed in music and dancing; they were initiated in the poetry of their country, which with them was not a fruitless amusement.

Their funeral rites had a striking resemblance to those of their less polished neighbours, the North Americans. When a person died, the body was washed and dressed in his best attire. He was set upright, and formally taken leave of by all his friends and relations. The priests in the neighbourhood attended the body to the place of interment; singing mournful songs and playing melancholy airs on their instruments. They were interred in their ordinary habits. With them were buried their arms, and sometimes gold, silver, necessities of various kinds, or those things which they had esteemed during life. It is even said, that, along with their great men, several slaves were put to death and interred in order to attend their masters in a future state; but this seems not to be sufficiently authenticated. Instead of burying their dead, they are said, sometimes, to have burnt them; and this seems to have been true, chiefly with regard to their chiefs and princes.

The government of Mexico, when the Spaniards arrived amongst them, was monarchical; but it is said formerly to have been a republic: frequent factions having endangered the state, it was changed into an elective monarchy. At first, their kings were elected by the whole community; afterwards the elective power was assumed, exclusively, by

the kings of Zacuba and Tezuco, and four princes of the blood. The monarch was always chosen from the royal family. Before the king, who had been elected, could be crowned, he was obliged to go on an expedition against some neighbouring nation. At his return, he was met by his nobles, the ministers of state, and chief priests. He was conducted to the temple of the God of War. There he was invested with the imperial robes. In his right hand he received a golden sword; in his left a bow and arrows. The king of Tezuco, first elector of the empire, set the crown on his head: one of the principal ministers, in the name of the people, congratulated him upon his accession to the crown, and instructed him in the duties which his new dignity enforced upon him.

The king lived in great magnificence and splendour. He ate alone, but had always two hundred dishes at his table; he was waited on by his principal nobility; and among them he distributed the dishes, after he had taken of them what he wanted. He frequently drank out of a golden goblet; a privilege denied to his greatest vassals.

Justice was administered by proper courts, and judges appointed in every city and province; but from them an appeal could be made to the supreme tribunal, in Mexico, which consisted of twelve judges. Superior, however, to every court of judicature in the kingdom, was the council of state, composed of the six electors of the empire, and generally held in the emperor's presence; and without consulting this council, he seldom resolved on any measure of importance. Treason, murder, sodomy, and adultery, to which some add robbery and theft, were punished with death.

The revenues of the crown were under the cognizance of a council appointed solely for that purpose; this council took charge of those parts of the king's income, arising from the mines, as well as of those taxes in kind, paid by his subjects of every profession. These taxes in the reign of Montezuma, amounted to a third part of every man's profits. The nobles were not subject to the same taxes, but

were obliged to maintain a certain number of men, to serve in the king's army whenever they were required.

The military affairs of the empire were regulated by a separate council: The profession of a soldier was esteemed the most honourable in the empire, and soldiers every where enjoyed peculiar privileges. Their armies were raised with ease, every cacique, or chief, being obliged, when called upon, to bring a certain number of men into the field. The Spanish writers relate, that Montezuma had thirty vassals; each of whom could bring an hundred thousand men into the field, but this calculation has evident marks of exaggeration. Each cacique commanded his own vassals, but under the control of the emperor, who generally conducted his armies in person.

War seems to have been the delight of the nation, and military talents were the surest means of preferment. In order to excite an emulation in courage and warlike skill among the troops, several orders were created similar to the knights of Europe, in the days of chivalry. There were many of these orders, and one in particular, into which none could be admitted, who were not princes, or of royal descent. Their badge was a red ribbon, with which their hair was tied behind; to this were affixed a number of tassels, corresponding to the number of heroic actions performed by the wearer, a new tassel being added for each exploit. To this order the emperor himself belonged.

Their arms were generally bows and arrows; but some Spanish writers have asserted, that iron or steel weapons were also in use among them, some centuries previous to the arrival of the Europeans. Of this fact they feel convinced from their having discovered several iron tools and warlike weapons in the tombs of the dead. It has been frequently mentioned by Don Fernandez, that the Mexicans knew the use of iron, although other writers denied the fact. "I do not mean to assert, (says this author) that the Mexicans ever arrived, since their emigration to the western continent, at such a proficiency in the use of iron as to be able to mould that metal into warlike weapons or other tools necessary for

the promotion of the arts. I know, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that the Mexicans used iron instruments, when it can, as has been frequently done, be proved, that iron or steel swords and other tools of the same metal, have been found buried with the dead." The incredulous ask, how is it, that the Mexicans did not use them when the Spaniards first visited them? They might as we have already mentioned, when we alluded to the antiquities of North America, disappear, from the prevalent custom among the different tribes who inhabited this continent, of burying those weapons and other useful tools with the dead. It might also be asked, why the Mexicans, since their arrival on this continent, did not practice the art of making swords and different other instruments which have been found in the *tumuli* of the dead, both in the northern and southern parts of America. In answer to this question, it is reasonable enough to imagine, that this Asiatic colony who peopled America and brought along with them those iron instruments from Asia, discovered no iron mines in America, whence they might be formed. In battle, they were totally ignorant of the art of disposing their soldiers in battle array. They engaged like a confused crowd, and were consequently like a rabble of children, before men skilled in military discipline; and to this circumstance, it has been conjectured, more than to their ignorance of fire arms, the Spaniards owed their easy conquest of the country.

Fear was the basis on which the Mexican worship was founded; and in common with the religion of other pagan nations, that of the ancient Mexicans consisted chiefly in rites of *deprecation*. Whilst figures of destructive animals decorated their temples, fasts, penances, voluntary wounds and tortures, formed the essences of their religious rites.

In the Mexican language *teotl* was a general term for any divinity; and they had an obscure belief of a creator, whom they styled *Ipalmemoani* that is, he by whom we live. But their Supreme Deity was rather the Evil Spirit, denominated *klacatecolatoll*, or the *rational owl*, whose delight was to injure or terrify. They believed in the immortality

of the soul, and a kind of transmigration; the good being transformed into birds, and the bad into creeping animals.

The first *teocalli*, or great temple of Mexico, was composed of wood. The second temple was erected in 1486, and appears to have been of a pyramidal form, 121 feet high, 316 feet at the base, and situated in the midst of a vast inclosure surrounded with walls. It appears to have been a solid mass of earth faced with stone, and consisted of five stories. On the summit of this enormous cube, were a great number of altars, covered with wooden cupolas. The point where these cupolas terminated, was elevated 177 feet above the base of the edifice. On the walls of the inclosure were represented many serpents heads, twisted into various forms. A small chapel stood near the principal entrance, the front of which was adorned with the skulls of those who had been sacrificed. On each side of the greatest square was a gate, surmounted by the statues of inferior deities; and within the inclosure was the habitation of the priests and servants of the temple. The building was ascended by 120 steps; the top was 40 feet square, paved with jaspers of various colours; round it was a rail of serpentine work, of beautiful black stone, joined with red and white cement. Two marble images, sustaining a vast candle-stick, stood on each side of the space; and between them a green stone, five spans high, and pointed at the top, on which they extended the victims they intended to sacrifice. These sacrifices were offered to the god, who sat opposite, in a chapel of exquisite workmanship. This god was seated on a throne, sustained by a sphere of a blue colour, representing heaven. From the sides of this sphere proceeded four staffs, terminating in figures of serpents heads: a twisted serpent was held in the hand of the image; and in his left four arrows behind a shield, which was ornamented with white feathers, in the form of a cross. On its head was a helmet, adorned with feathers of various colours. The countenance of this Mexican Moloch was stern and terrific, deformed with two blue hands, one across the nose and cheeks, and the other across the brow. As to the num-

ber of victims offered to this sanguinary deity, authors differ. Fernandez says, that those religious edifices of the Mexicans would from the art and taste which the architecture displayed, be a credit to a more civilized nation than the Mexicans, and that they must have been acquainted with painting, sculpture, and architecture previous to their migration from Asia.

From the foregoing observations on the civilization of the Mexicans, it appears that this great nation had attained a high degree of refinement, previous to the arrival of the Spaniards. The habits of the emperor and his principal chiefs are said by Spanish writers to have been rich and superb. In several arts they were considerable proficient. Painting and architecture they cultivated with assiduity and success. On agriculture depended chiefly their means of subsistence, although hunting and fishing were their favourite exercises. In educating their children, they offered an example of their political sagacity; because in every district of the empire public schools were erected, in which the youths were fitted for the army, church and state, according to their different bents of inclination. In this they excelled even the most refined nations in Europe, where the dispositions and qualifications of the youth are not taken into consideration before they are sent abroad to learn the different professions.

Their government, which was monarchical when the Spaniards arrived among them, was conducted with the greatest prudence and the most refined policy. The ceremonies which attended the king's coronation were, according to the Spaniards, solemn and imposing. In war the Mexicans could boast of military talents, as well as bravery and intrepidity; and rewards and honours were held out to them, as inducements to excel in military skill, which greatly improved their national character and social institutions, at an early period. Their fortifications also displayed a degree of military skill which was not likely to be found among the tribes which inhabited the new world. In their religious

rites, though a pagan worship, they sometimes displayed some taste with their imposing ceremonies.

That the Natchez, evidently the most civilized of all the present North American tribes were a branch of the great family which constituted the Mexican nation, cannot be doubted, if we pay respect to the traditions of the Natchez themselves, to a similarity of language, manners, habits and customs, as well as their external appearance and religion. If we admit under these circumstances, that a consanguinity exists between the Mexicans and the Natchez, and it cannot be reasonably denied, we must also grant the probability, that the vestiges of civilization, throughout the North American continent, owe their existence to some polished tribes who separated from the Toltecs, Chichimecs, and Artec (now the Mexicans,) at the period of their successive migrations, and colonized North America.

This is the most reasonable conjecture that we can form, respecting the most ancient inhabitants of North America. The grounds of this hypothesis are evidently agreeable to reason from the fact that fortifications, offensive weapons, defensive armour, and *tumuli* were found among the Mexicans, much the same as those which indicate the civilization of those who preceded the present Red Indians as the inhabitants of the North American soil. It may, indeed, appear to some rather singular that those tribes have totally disappeared in North America, and that they did not impart to the present Indians any of their arts or sciences in painting, architecture, and agriculture. If we suppose that the present Red Indians entered North America from Siberia or Tartary as a powerful and numerous nation and exterminated with war, or expelled from the country the real aborigines of the American soil, it is not either likely or probable that the vanquished would teach the conquerors, or that the conquerors would learn from the vanquished.

From the Coreans in Asia, the Toltec, Chichimec, and Aztec, that formed the Mexican nation, are very reasonably supposed to have descended. They bear a striking resemblance to the Mexicans in many respects. According to

Abernethy, the Coreans have the narrow foreheads, black eyes, and regular white teeth of the Mexicans; their hair is black and thick, and their skins are of copper colour.

Their warriors frequently paint their faces with various colours; and often all those places which are not covered. This they do, in order to appear terrible to their enemies in time of war. The females paint themselves solely for the sake of adding to their personal attractions.

The Coreans were far from being ignorant of the arts and sciences, for Santini and Abernethy assure us that painting and architecture were, as well as fowling, hunting, and fishing, their favourite pursuits. In painting or drawing they frequently used the coloured feathers, which, as we have already observed, were in common use among the Mexicans for the same purpose. The Mexican music, which consisted of a reed and a small wooden drum, was also observed among the Coreans by several travellers, as well as the circular dances so prevalent among all the Indian tribes throughout North and South America. Their other exercises were numerous and consisted merely of displays of activity, strength, and agility. Marriage was celebrated among the Coreans almost in the same manner as among the Mexicans. The priest tied the man's right hand to the women's left, with a white cord. In this state they walked home from the temple to the bridegroom's house where the cord was untied by the priest who accompanied them. A feast was then prepared, which ended in dancing, and on the retiring of the married couple. The Mexicans observed a similar ceremony; for the priest tied a corner of the woman's veil, to a corner of the man's mantle. In this manner he led them home to the bridegroom's house.

The Mexican custom of washing the woman and child in a neighbouring stream, whenever she was delivered was also common among the Coreans, who, however left it at the pleasure of the woman herself; and if she declined, it was considered as a mark of impurity.

The funeral rites of the Coreans did not differ materially from those of the North American Indians and Mexicans.

Their dead they attired in their finest robes; and along with them they buried those things which they esteemed when living. It has also been observed that it was customary with them to bury with the dead their favourite dogs.

The Coreans engaged in battle with tremendous howlings and shouts, similar to the outcries of all the Indian tribes of America. Their original arms were bows and arrows; but since a colony arrived there from China, swords and other iron weapons were introduced.

The religion of the Coreans, like that of every rude nation, was founded upon fear, and it consisted chiefly in rites of *deprecation*. Fasts, penances, tortures, and voluntary wounds formed the essences of their religion. That of the Mexicans corresponded in all its rites and ceremonies, with that of the Coreans. These Asiatics, as well as almost all the Indian tribes of America worshipped two particular divinities; the one they considered to be a *benevolent spirit*, and the other *malevolent*. They had also a great many inferior deities, whom they revered as *tutelary gods*, or *guardians*.

In these, and in several other national peculiarities the Mexicans and the Coreans coincide so strikingly, that the antiquary will, at once, be satisfied with the identity of people; besides the traditions of the Mexicans, or rather their records in painting confirm the Chinese manuscripts which Santini has translated into the Italian language. According to him, the Kitans, in the second year of the dynasty of Tsin, emperor of China, declared war against the Coreans. The Kitans were a powerful nation, who inhabited eastern Tartary and dwelt to the north and north-east of the province of Pecheli, in China. Without detailing the particularities of this campaign, so minutely related by the Italian antiquary, we shall merely say, that the Coreans were subdued by the Kitans, who afterwards exercised such tyranny over the vanquished, that the Coreans undertook a sea voyage in order to establish a colony in some distant land. The course which they pursued was towards the north-east. During a voyage of nine weeks they passed by several islands, and arrived in a country, whose bounds they

could not discover. The land Santini, very reasonably, supposes to be America. This information, of which we have only given the substance, is certainly very interesting, and tends to prove beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the Coreans were the first that visited the new world from Asia. It was communicated in Corea by prince Alacouli, on his return to Corea; and thence it was transmitted to China, where the manuscript is still preserved.

CONCLUSION.

Having now accomplished the plan which we proposed as a guide in our inquiry after the origin of the North American Indians, with as much fidelity as the limited nature of the present work would permit, we shall once more direct the attention of the reader to this subject before we abandon so curious and agitated a question. Of all the races into which the great human family is divided by peculiar features in the constitution of their bodies, as well as by the characteristic qualities of their minds, the Aborigines of the American Continent have afforded the antiquary the widest field for research and inquiry concerning their original extraction. Amid this uncertainty and obscurity which hang over the early history of the American Indians, the most extravagant conjectures and the wildest theories have been formed in order to arrive at the original of this strange and singular people. Almost all the nations of the earth have been ransacked to account for the peopling of the new world. While some have presumptuously asserted that they are descended from some remnant of the antediluvian inhabitants of the earth, who survived the deluge on the summit of some lofty mountain in the southern regions of America, others have vainly imagined that it was here Adam and Eve drew the first breath of life, and that hence all the other portions of the earth received their inhabitants. In the absence of historical records, of which the Indians had none, conjecture and hypothesis have inevitably formed the frail and only foundation on which authors have built their various theories.

It is truly amusing to see how readily the human mind sometimes espouses any cause, however absurd, when the novelty of the plan is in any way alluring or captivating. If we credit the fanciful inventions of historians, we are to believe, that the Jews, the Canaanites, the Phœnicians, the Carthagenians, and the Greeks, made settlements, in ancient times, on the American continent. The Scythians, the

Chinese, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Welsh, and the Spaniards, are also said to have sent hither different colonies; without attempting to refute the authors of these wild schemes, we shall rest satisfied with a few observations on the most probable and rational system that has been as yet suggested. It must certainly appear somewhat strange to a sober mind, that antiquaries must go to Greece, Tyre, and Carthage, as well as Wales, Spain, and Sweden, to discover in these countries the ancestors of the Red Men of America, instead of crossing the straits of Beering where the two continents are separated by a channel only twenty-five miles wide.

Some indeed have supposed that America was at this point originally united to the old continent, and disjoined from it by the shock of an earthquake, or the irruption of a deluge. This opinion, it is true, is a mere conjecture, but still it is far from being improbable. There are others again whose imaginations are somewhat more sublime and romantic, so that nothing less than a voyage of three or four thousand miles across the Atlantic will satisfy them. These fondly imagine that some vessel, being forced from its course by the violence of a westerly wind, might be driven by accident towards the American coast, and have given a beginning to population in that desolate continent. We have only to say on this head, that we have neither history nor tradition to authorise a belief that such an event ever happened. Notwithstanding the erudition which has been displayed by the traveller and antiquary in endeavouring to trace in the western world monuments of antiquity, which should have great weight in proving that America was peopled by some nation of the ancient continent which had made considerable progress in civilization, still, from all that can be advanced on this point, we can only infer that some nations had attained a higher degree of improvement in some of the arts than our present race of Red Men. But as we have not undertaken to illustrate this subject, we shall leave it in the hands of those who claim it as their peculiar province.

In finishing this inquiry concerning the original of the North American Indians, we beg leave to conclude with a few observations from the learned disquisition of Robertson in his History of South America, on this same subject.

"From considering the animals with which America is stored," says the learned author, "we may conclude that the nearest point of contract between the old and new continents is towards the northern extremity of both, and that there the communication was opened, and the intercourse carried on between them. All the extensive countries in America which lie within the tropics, or approach near to them, are filled with indigenous animals of various kinds, entirely different from those in the corresponding regions of the ancient continent. But the northern provinces of the new world abound with many of the wild animals which are common in such parts of our hemisphere as lie in a similar situation. The bear, the wolf, the fox the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, and several other species, frequent the forests of North America, no less than those in the north of Europe and Asia. It seems to be evident, then, that the two continents approach each other in this quarter, and are either united, or so nearly adjacent that these animals might pass from one to the other.

"The actual vicinity of the two continents is so clearly established by modern discoveries, that the chief difficulty with respect to the peopling of America is removed. While those immense regions which stretch eastward from the river Oby to the sea of Kamschatka were unknown or imperfectly explored, the north-east extremities of our hemisphere were supposed to be so far distant from any part of the new world, that it was not easy to conceive how any communication should have been carried on between them. But the Russians, having subjected the western part of Siberia to their empire, gradually extended their knowledge of that vast country, by advancing towards the east into unknown regions not only in Asia, but likewise on the continent of America.

"These the Russians imagined to be part of America;

and several circumstances concurred not only in confirming them in this belief, but in persuading them that some portion of that continent could not be very remote. Trees of various kinds unknown in those naked regions of Asia were driven upon the coast by an easterly wind. By the same wind, floating ice was brought thither in a few days; flights of birds arrived annually from the same quarter; and a tradition obtained among the inhabitants, of an intercourse formerly carried on with some countries situated to the east.

"After weighing all the particulars, and comparing the position of the countries in Asia which had been discovered, with such parts in the north-west of America as were already known, the Russian court formed a plan, which would have hardly occurred to a nation less accustomed to engage in arduous undertakings, and to contend with great difficulties. Orders were issued to build two vessels at the small village of Ochotz, situated on the sea of Kamschatka, to sail on a voyage of discovery. Though that dreary uncultivated region furnished nothing that could be of use in constructing them, but some large trees; though not only the iron, the cordage, the sail, and all the numerous articles requisite for their equipment, but the provisions for victualling them were to be carried through the immense deserts of Siberia, down rivers of difficult navigation, and along roads almost impassible, the mandate of the sovereign, and the perseverance of the people, at last surmounted every obstacle. Two vessels were finished, and, under the command of the Captains Behring and Tschirikow, sailed from Kamschatka, in quest of the new world in a quarter where it had never been approached. They shaped their course towards the east; and though a storm soon separated the vessel, which never rejoined, and many disasters befell them, the expectations from the voyage were not altogether frustrated. Each of the commanders discovered land, which to them appeared to be part of the American continent; and according to their observation, it seemed to be situated within a few degrees of the north-west coast of California. Each set some

of his people ashore ; but in one place the inhabitants fled as the Russians approached ; in another, they carried off those who landed, and destroyed their boats. The violence of the weather, and the distress of their crews, obliged both captains to quit this inhospitable coast. In their return they touched at several islands which stretched in a chain from east to west between the country which they had discovered and the coast of Asia. They had some intercourse with the natives, who seemed to them to resemble the North Americans. They presented to the Russians the calumet, or pipe of peace, which is a symbol of friendship universal among the people of North America, and a usage of arbitrary institution peculiar to them.

"Again, in the year 1768 discoveries in that quarter were resumed, which not only confirmed the Russian government in the belief that America was not far removed from the north eastern parts of Asia, but discovered various islands interspersed in those straits, which would inevitably tend to facilitate an intercourse between the inhabitants of the old and new world.

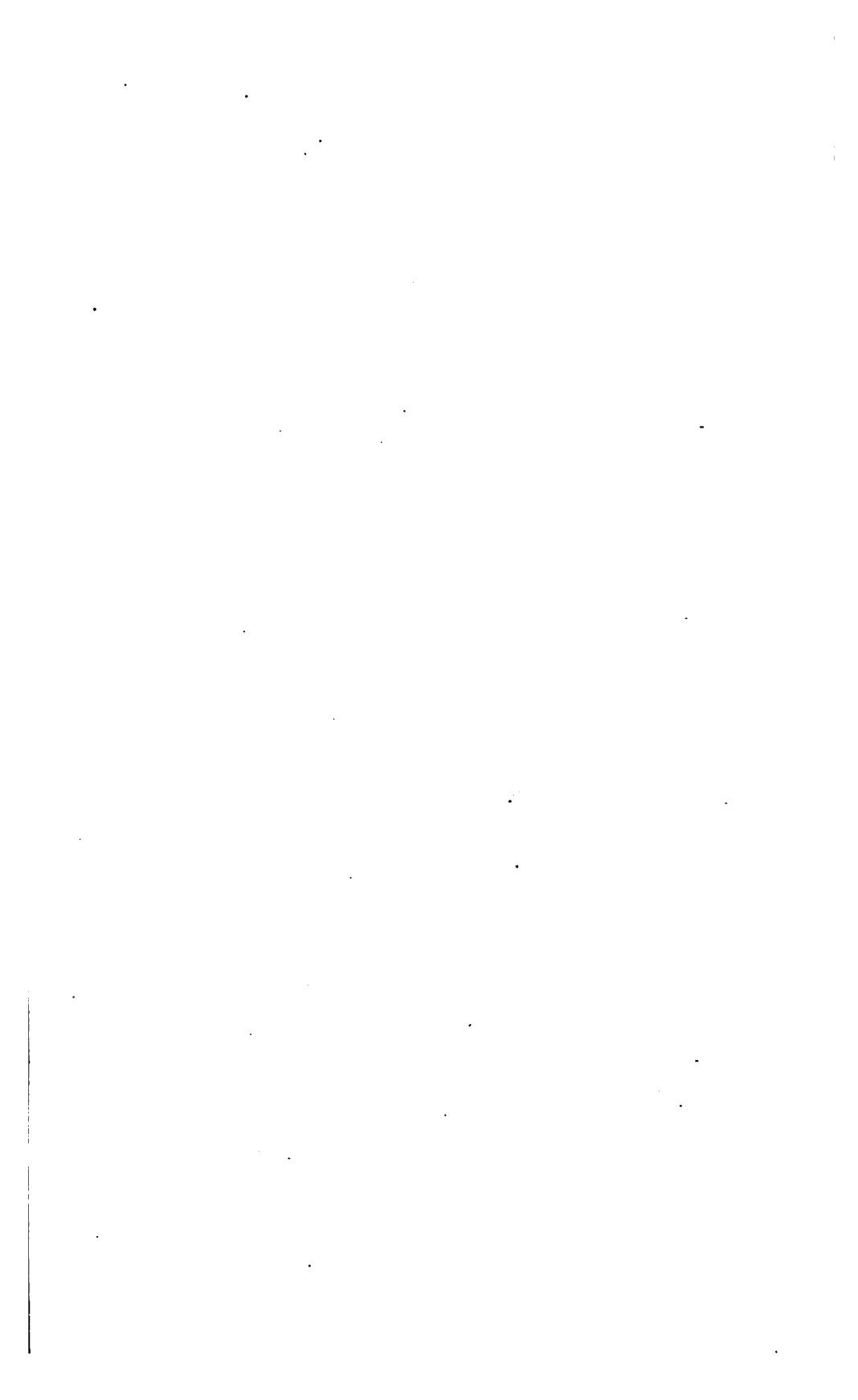
"Thus the possibility of a communication between the continents in this quarter rests no longer upon mere conjecture, but is established by undoubted evidence. Some tribe, or some families of wandering Tartars, from the restless spirit peculiar to their race, might migrate to the nearest islands, and, rude as their knowledge of navigation was, might, by passing from one to the other, reach at length the coast of America, and give a beginning to population in that continent.

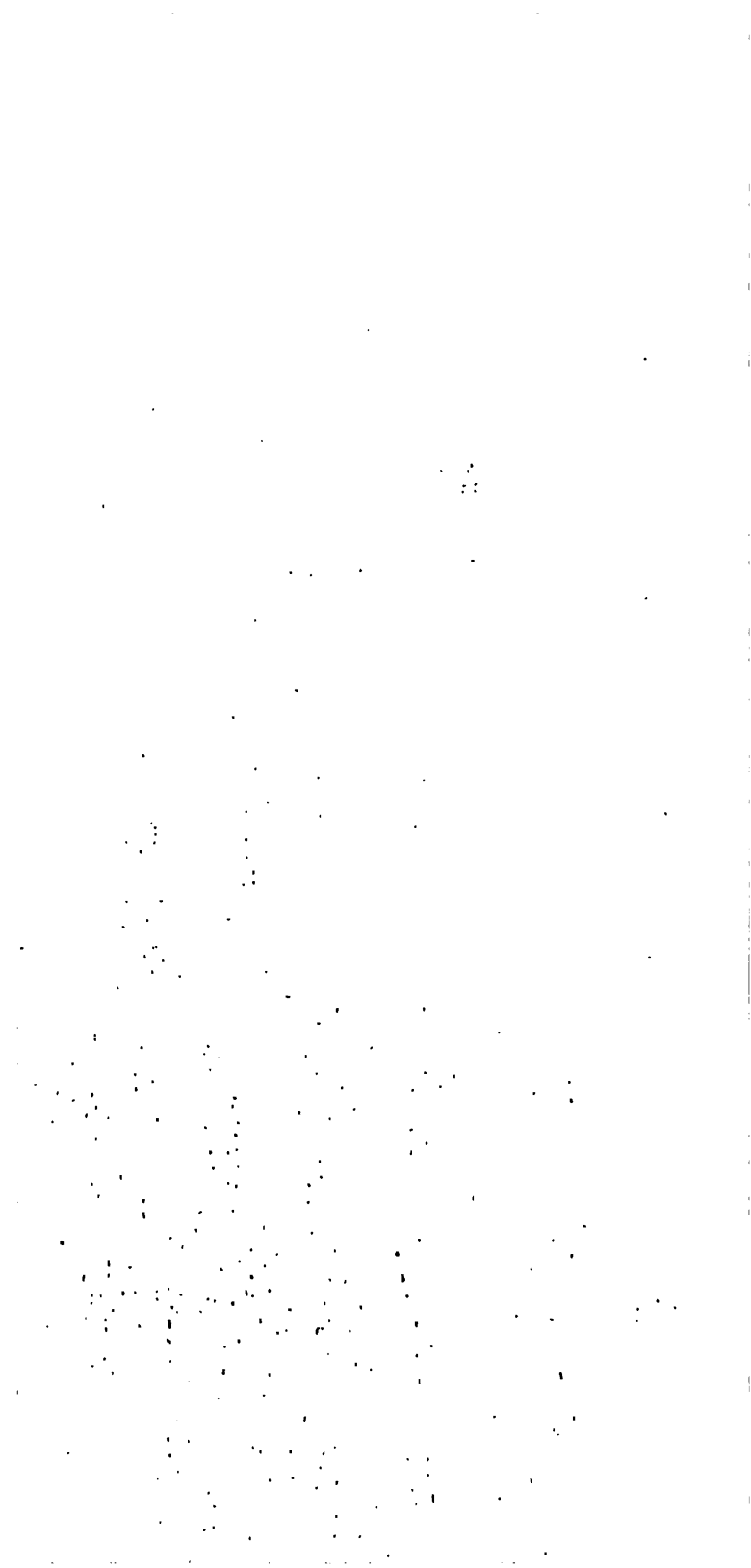
"Though it be possible that America may have received its first inhabitants from our continent, either by the north-west of Europe, or the north-east of Asia, there seems to be good reason for supposing that the progenitors of all the American nations from Cape Horn to the southern confines of Labrador, migrated from the latter rather than the former. The Esquimaux are the only people in America, who in their aspect or character, bear any resemblance to the northern Europeans. They are manifestly a race of

men distinct from all the nations of the American continent, in language, in disposition, and habits of life. Their original, then, may warrantably be traced up to that source which I have pointed out. But among all the other inhabitants of America, there is such a striking similitude in the form of their bodies and the qualities of their minds, that notwithstanding the diversities occasioned by the influences of climate or unequal progress in improvement, we must pronounce them to be descended from one source. There may be a variety in the shades, but we can every where trace the same original colour. Each tribe has something peculiar which distinguishes it, but in all of them we discern certain features common to the whole race. It is remarkable, that in every peculiarity, whether in their persons or dispositions, which characterize the Americans, they have some resemblance to the rude tribes scattered over the north-east of Asia, but almost none to the nations settled in the northern extremities of Europe. We may, therefore, refer them to the former origin, and conclude that their Asiatic progenitors, having settled in those parts of America where the Russians have discovered the proximity of the two continents, spread gradually over its various regions. This account of the progress of population in America coincides with the traditions of the Mexicans concerning their own origin, which, imperfect as they are, were preserved with more accuracy, and merit greater credit, than those of any people in the new world. According to them, their ancestors came from a remote country situated to the north-west of Mexico. The Mexicans point out their various stations as they advanced from this into the interior provinces, and it is precisely the same route which they must have held if they had been emigrants from Asia. The Mexicans, in describing the appearance of their progenitors, their manners and habits of life at that period, exactly delineate those of the rude Tartars from whom I suppose them to have sprung."









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